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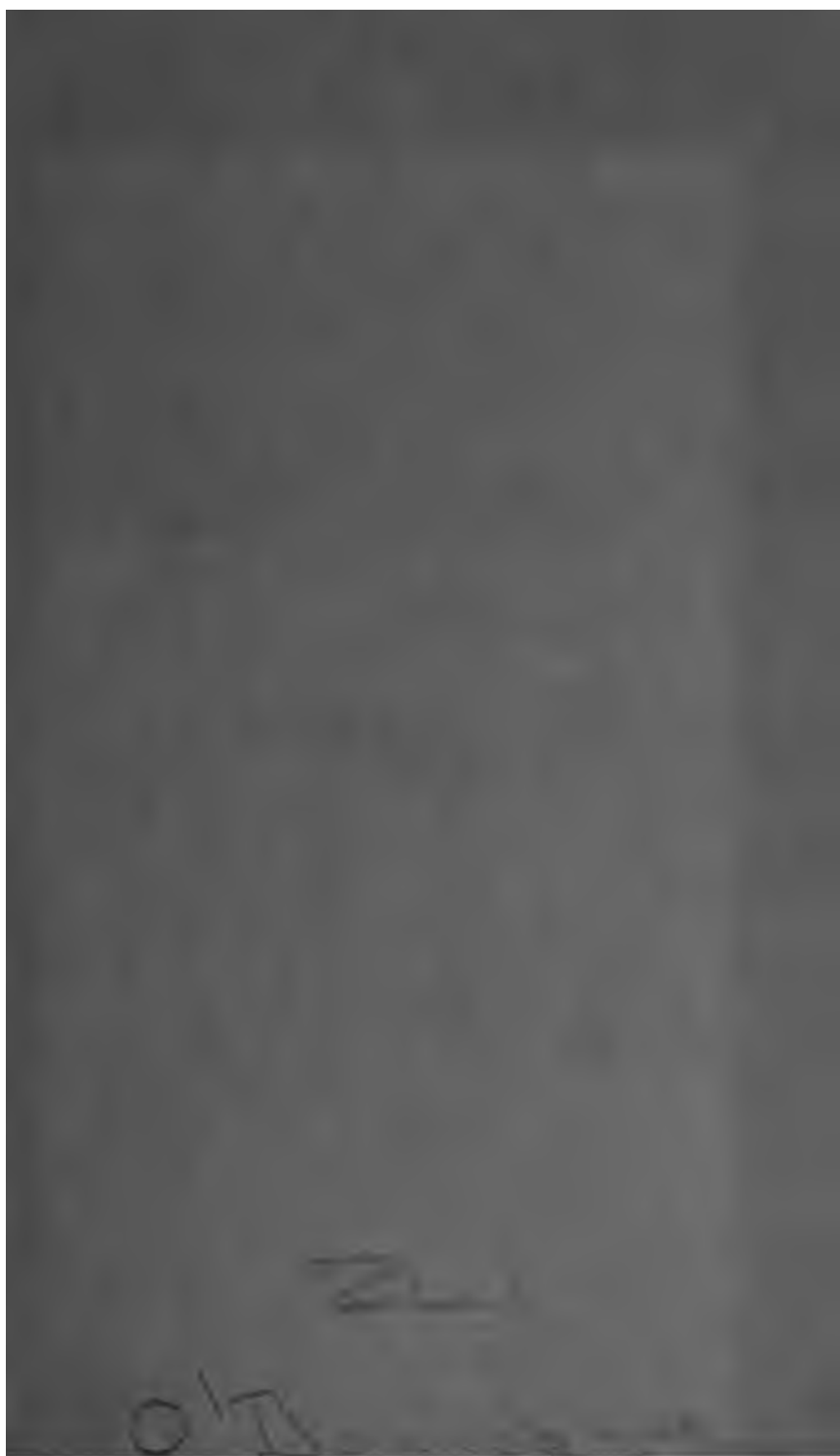
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more to the Monks than the Bible in English, in which all people might be able clearly to discern that there was no foundation for those things. These arguments, seconded by the influence which the Queen exercised over him, were so much considered by the King, that he gave directions for setting about it immediately: and it appears that the work was carried on with such zeal that, three years after this, it was printed at Paris. But this was the last public good act of the unfortunate Anna Boléyn, who, as she drew nearer to her end, abounded yet more and more in good works. She had distributed, in the last nine months of her life, between fourteen and fifteen thousand pounds to the poor, and was designing great and public good things.

The Queen had been Henry's wife three years, but at this time he entertained a secret love for Jane Seymour, who possessed all the charms both of beauty and youth in her person, and whose disposition was between the severe gravity of Queen Katherine and the gay pleasantness of Queen Anne. The Queen perceiving the alienation of the King's heart, used all possible means to recover that affection, of whose decay she was now sadly sensible. But her efforts were vain, for the King saw her no more with that affection and regard which she had formally inspired, but grew jealous, and ascribed her caresses to some criminal affections, of which he began to suspect her. Being arrested on suspicion of infidelity, she was carried into the Tower, "where she fell down on her knees and prayed God to help her, as she was not guilty of the thing for which she was accused." Her situation drew after it the common effects that follow persons under the frowns of power, for now all the court was against her, and every one was courting the rising Queen. Cranmer alone had not learned these arts; he had a better soul in him than to be capable of











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100

101

102

103

104

105

106

107

108

109

110

111

112

113

114

115

116

117

118

119

120

THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
THE CHURCH AND COURT  
OF  
ROME:

FROM THE  
ESTABLISHMENT OF CHRISTIANITY UNDER CONSTANTINE,  
TO  
THE PRESENT TIME.

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BY THE  
REV. H. C. O'DONNOGHUE, A. M.

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“ I must speak decidedly. I believe the Religion of the Roman Catholics to be the Antichrist of Scripture, and that if I cease to oppose it, I do a great wickedness, and sin against God. I may repent of many things; but when it shall please God that my accountable spirit shall be disembodied, and return to my Maker, I shall then look back with joy to my humble labours, in support of pure, primitive, reformed Christianity.”

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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LONDON:  
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1830.

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## CONTENTS.

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	PAGE.
CHAP. I. Preliminary Observations, in reference to the Reformation	1
II. State of the Roman Church in Faith and Morals, at the period of the Reformation.....	24
III. Luther .....	34
IV. Diet of Worms, 1521 .....	58
V. Diet of Nuremberg, 1522 .....	71
VI. Diet of Augsburg, 1530 .....	89
VII. Council of Trent .....	108
VIII. Death and Character of Luther .....	119
IX. Diet of Ratisbon .....	129
X. Diet of Augsburg .....	149
XI. Council of Trent.....	160
XII. Maurice--Treaty of Passau--Diet of Augsburg, 1555 .....	165
XIII. Reformation in England.....	170
XIV. Reformation in Sweden, Denmark, France, Spain, &c. ...	266
XV. On the Consequences of the Reformation.....	277
XVI. Adrian VI. ....	290
XVII. Clement VII.—Capture of Rome, by Bourbon .....	305
XVIII. Interview between Clement and Charles V. Reformation in England.—Death of Clement.—Paul III. ....	326
XIX. Institution of the Order of the Jesuits .....	334
XX. Council of Trent .....	352
XXI. Julius III.—Council of Trent .....	357
XXII. The Inquisition .....	363
XXIII. Pius IV. and V. ....	388
XXIV. Gregory XIII.—Massacre of Saint Bartholomew's Day...	399
XXV. Sixtus V.—Clement VIII.....	409
XXVI. Jansenist Controversy .....	420



# **SKETCH**

**OF THE**

## **GERMAN AND ENGLISH REFORMATION.**

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### **CHAPTER I.**

#### **PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.**

THE period of which we are now about to treat, opened with a prospect, of all others, the most gloomy in the eyes of every true Christian. Corruption, both in doctrine and practice, had exceeded all bounds: and the general face of Europe, though the name of Christ was every where professed, presented nothing that was cheering to the mind of a true Christian. Although great efforts had been made to emancipate the Church of Christ from the oppression and degradation under which the "Powers of Darkness" had bound it down; and though many individuals had, thereby, been brought to a personal and saving knowledge of the truth; still there had been no perceptible influence wrought on the Church generally; nor had any Reformation in her general character taken place in any part of Europe.

The Members of God's Spiritual Church were few and feeble; utterly incapable of making effectual impression on the kingdom of Antichrist. The Roman Pontiffs were still the uncontrolled Patrons of Iniquity; neither the scandalous

crimes of Alexander VI., nor the military ferocity of Julius II. seem to have lessened the dominion of the Court of Rome; or to have so impressed the minds of men with a sense of the enormity of their guilt, as to have created a determination to prevent their recurrence.

All this would be incredible and unaccountable, did not History attest its truth; and were we not well informed, that the subjection of the mind of man to the doctrines and principles of Popery, had, at this time, become both universal and complete: insomuch, that the nations of Christendom differed from those of Paganism, in nothing, save the name.

In the midst of all this darkness and hopelessness, God did not leave his Church utterly to perish; his face had, indeed, been long hidden, but he was now about to arise to vindicate his own cause, and to manifest that His unaided Spirit was alone effectual to the accomplishment of all those gracious purposes of love and mercy to his Redeemed Church, which were now about to be disclosed: although suppressed, the indignant struggles of piety after a holier faith were not annihilated; many in solitude and privacy, forwarded the day of vengeance by their patient suffering, and Christian supplication to the God of Truth. Slowly, but effectually, all things were now working together for good, to the oppressed and despised people of God; whose word had wrought effectually in many hearts; whilst a variety of circumstances, some apparently casual, were combining to produce effects of the most astonishing and beneficial nature, on the political and moral constitution of the world.

The era of the Reformation, says an anonymous writer, is one of the most interesting in the page of History. The change which then took place in religious opinions, was the necessary result of various concurring causes, which gradually developed themselves, as mankind advanced in knowledge. The effects which it produced, were almost instantaneously felt in every country of Europe, and still continue to maintain a sensible influence upon the religion, the policy, the literature, and the science of many nations.

At that era, new energies were excited in the human breast,

and a spirit of enquiry, and, in general, an independence of character was elicited, to which the history of the species affords no parallel.

This elevation of sentiment, was not confined to a few individuals, to one district of a country, or to one nation. In Germany, in France, in England, and even in Scotland, a similar tone of temper, and the same fervid zeal almost simultaneously appeared; and the united strength of the ecclesiastical and civil powers was unable to suppress them.

In the consideration of these events, we shall see that God makes the wrath of man to praise him; and in the mysteries of his moral government, frequently produces light out of darkness.

It will be necessary, before we direct our attention to the history of those events, which unitedly considered, we characterize as the REFORMATION, to state, briefly, yet explicitly, in what that fortunate concurrence of circumstances consisted, by which this great and glorious era was preceded, matured and forwarded. The impulse given to Germany was felt throughout the whole of Europe. Luther was not to Bohemia alone, but to the whole world, the harbinger of that glorious era which was to emancipate the minds of men from the bondage of a corrupt and debasing superstition. If, therefore, in the following sketch of the circumstances which preceded and produced the Reformation, we seem to look principally to the efforts of the German Reformer, let it be remembered, that this great work was begun in Germany; that although political and personal circumstances apparently produced the rupture between England and Rome, the minds of men had been previously prepared for a thankful embracing of it, by the writings of Luther; that the political causes were only accidental ones, providentially concurring with those of a moral nature; and that so far from being considered as independent and isolated events, the Reformation, both in England and Germany, was one and the same event, under different appearances and modifications.

As the fifteenth century evolved, the moral censures of the

public judgment became more animated against the vices and abuses of the Papal court, and its official administration : and thus, before Henry VIII. or Luther was even born, two of the great points for which the latter afterwards contended, had become fixed in the opinions of mankind, though no one stirred to put them into effectual execution. These were, that the Popedom and the Catholic Hierarchy were in a corrupt and immoral state ; and that for the sake of true Christianity and of the public welfare, a general Reformation ought to be commanded and enforced. But Luther no more originated the desire of the amelioration, than he produced the degeneracy which needed the correction. The evil had been so striking, and so universal, that it could not, when the mind was enlarging on every subject of human thought, continue to exist so glaringly and so offensively, without exciting some sensitive and intrepid spirit to be an active public leader, in obtaining that Reformation, which all, but the deteriorated and the interested, felt to be indispensable.

To overturn a system of religious belief, founded on ancient and deep rooted prejudices, supported by power, and defended with no less art than industry ; to establish in its room doctrines of the most contrary genius and tendency ; and to accomplish all this, not by external violence or the force of arms, are operations which historians, the least prone to credulity and superstition, ascribe to that Divine Providence, which, with infinite ease, can bring about events, which to human sagacity appear impossible. The interposition of Heaven, in favour of the Christian religion at its first publication, was manifested by miracles and prophecies, wrought and uttered in confirmation of it. Though none of the Reformers possessed, or pretended to possess these supernatural gifts ; yet that wonderful preparation of circumstances, which disposed the minds of men for receiving their doctrines ; that singular combination of causes, which secured their success, and enabled men destitute of power and of policy, to triumph over those who employed against them extraordinary efforts of both, may be considered as no slight proof, that the same

hand which planted the Christian religion, protected the Reformed faith, and reared it from beginnings extremely feeble, to an amazing degree of vigour and maturity.

It was not against the Catholic dogmata, but against the abuses and the corruptions of the Papal Court, as in the case of indulgences, that Luther and others originally directed their zeal. Our intrepid Reformer does not appear at all to have originally contemplated an attack against transubstantiation, purgatory, praying for the dead, the use of images and pictures, the veneration of relics, tradition as a rule of faith, the invocation of saints, or even against the use and sale of indulgences. It was not against all or any of these Catholic tenets, that the Reformers, in the first instance, protested; nor are we certain, had no flagrant abuse been made of some branches of discipline, that any efforts would then have been made to restore the ancient simplicity of faith, or the purity of the primitive discipline. The extreme laxity and even profligacy of the clergy, had long been the source of painful regret to the wise and the good, and of sarcasm, impious pleasure, and contempt to the wicked and the vain. Cardinal Bellarmine, a writer, as all the world knows, but seldom disposed to say a syllable in disparagement of the Church or the Roman Court, confesses that "for some years before the Lutheran and Calvinistic heresies," as he expresses it, "were published, there was not (as contemporary authors testify) any severity in ecclesiastical judicatories, any knowledge of sacred literature, any reverence for divine things; there was not almost any religion remaining." Had the moral conduct of the head, and ministers of religion been such as became their holy office, it is more than probable that no particular outcry would have been raised against the Catholic doctrines at that time. It was not the light of science, the encouragement at that time given to the arts, and to elegant literature; it was not any new discovery that had then been made in regard to morals, metaphysics, or religion, that first enabled the Reformers to attack with success the principles of the old faith, or the peculiarities of the ancient discipline. Even before that event, the arts were encouraged, because they contributed to



support the primitive superstitions ; the liberal sciences were no where so successfully cultivated, as in the cloisters, and at the sacred colleges.

The profound learning of the Benedictine Monks, has been the subject of a warm panegyric from the able pen of Mr. Gibbon. Mr. Rosco bears ample testimony to the learning and talents of many of the supreme Pontiffs : no ; it was the base conduct of the clergy that first sounded the tocsin of religious war. This depravity had, naturally enough, become the subject of public ridicule, of reproach, and, at last, of contempt and open opposition. The universal cry was "Reform !" and when this was rejected, another still more powerful and dreadful was raised, of "Destruction !"

The Holiness of the Church, became the first object of general attack ; and unfortunately for herself, that which should have been her strongest hold, was the most vulnerable part in the whole fortress. In those States wherein the Church may be said to have fallen, it is fair to remark, that she fell, in a manner by her own hand. The prophet's reproach may justly be applied to her, "O Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself." It is with communities as with individuals ; little "can harm them, whilst they are followers of that which is good ;" as "charity hides a multitude of sins," so does much active goodness conceal from the view a thousand errors of opinion, and many superstitions of worship. The subsequent ridicule and indecent abuse about the "Wafer God," would doubtless have been spared, had the Catholic Clergy but minded, as they ought, by a life of devotion and obedience, to "honour and serve that God," whom they believe to be present in the consecrated elements of which the wafer was composed. The outcry was not against the host, but against him by whom it was elevated. Holy images, pictures, &c. were never despised, till they were abused and profaned by those to whose custody they had been previously consigned. The growing pride of the Church of Rome, naturally engendered by the union of the spiritual and temporal power, was one of the strong symptoms of approaching revolt.

*Every prince bore the insolence and ambition of the Roman*

Pontiff, with a greater or less degree of impatience; some of them dared to oppose it openly, and the University of Paris had more than once been made the organ of Sovereign Power, to answer the menaces of Rome; they had the courage to appeal to a future Council, which they, without ambiguity, deemed superior to the Pope. The eyes of men began to open. The impolitic violence of some Popes, the scandalous lives of others, the seventy years captivity at Avignon, the schism of forty other years which followed it; in which two and sometimes three Popes appeared, each having a party, abusing and excommunicating each other, loading each other with the most revolting insult, and reproaching each other with the lowest vices; unexpected discoveries which covered both rivals with ignominy at the same time; all these will surely account for the hatred and contempt, which every where lurked secretly against the Romish Hierarchy; complaints and murmurs arose on every hand; thousands of vices united in demanding a Reformation of the Church, in its head, and in its members, its faith and its manners; but there were other and concurring causes, connected with the condition and circumstances of the priesthood generally, to which we must, though but briefly, advert.

Many of the dignified clergy, secular as well as regular, being the younger sons of noble families, who had assumed the ecclesiastical character, for no other reason, but that they found in the Church, stations of great dignity and affluence, were accustomed totally to neglect the duties of their office, and indulge themselves without reserve, in all the vices to which great wealth and idleness naturally give birth; though the inferior clergy were prevented by their poverty, from imitating the expensive luxury of their superiors, yet gross ignorance and low debauchery, rendered them as contemptible, as the others were odious. The voluptuous lives of Ecclesiastics, occasioned great scandal, not only because their manners were inconsistent with their sacred character, but the laity being accustomed to see several of them raised from the lowest stations, to the greatest affluence, did not shew the

same indulgence to their excesses, as to those of persons possessed of hereditary wealth or grandeur; and viewing their condition with more envy, they censured their crimes with greater severity; nothing therefore could be more acceptable to Luther's hearers, than the violence with which he exclaimed against the immoralities of Churchmen, and every person in his audience could, from his own observation, confirm the truth of his invectives.

This degeneracy of manners among the Clergy might have been tolerated, perhaps, with greater indulgence, if their exorbitant riches and power had not enabled them, at the same time, to encroach on the rights of every other order of men. It is the genius of superstition, fond of whatever is pompous and grand, to set no bounds to its liberality towards persons whom it esteems sacred, and to think its expressions of regard defective, unless it hath raised them to the height of wealth and authority. Hence flowed the extensive revenues and jurisdiction possessed by the Church in every country in Europe, and which were become intolerable to the Laity, from whose undiscerning bounty they were at first derived.

The unsettled state of government in Germany, and the frequent wars to which that country was exposed, contributed, in another manner, towards aggrandizing Ecclesiastics. The only property during those times of anarchy which enjoyed security from the oppression of the great, or the ravages of war, was that which belonged to the Church. This was owing not only to the great reverence for the sacred character prevalent in those ages, but to a superstitious dread of the sentence of Excommunication, which the Clergy were ready to denounce against those who invaded their possessions; many observing this, made a surrender of their lands to Ecclesiastics, and consenting to hold them in fee of the Church, obtained as its vassals a degree of safety, which, without this device, they were unable to procure. By such an increase of the number of their vassals, the power of Ecclesiastics received a real and permanent augmentation; and as lands held in fee by the limited tenures common in

those ages, often returned to the persons on whom the fief depended, considerable additions were made in this way to the property of the Clergy.

The solicitude of the Clergy in providing for the safety of their own persons, was still greater than that which they displayed in securing their possessions; and their efforts to attain it, were still more successful. As they were consecrated to the priestly office with much outward solemnity, were distinguished from the rest of mankind by a peculiar garb and manner of life, and arrogated to their order many privileges which do not belong to other Christians, they naturally became the objects of excessive veneration. As a superstitious spirit spread, they were regarded as beings of a superior species to the profane Laity, whom it would be impious to try by the same laws, or to subject to the same punishments. This exemption from civil jurisdiction, granted at first to Ecclesiastics as a mark of respect, they soon claimed as a point of right. This valuable immunity of the priesthood, is asserted not only in the decrees of Popes and Councils, but was confirmed in the most ample form, by many of the greatest Emperors. As long as the clerical character remained, the person of an Ecclesiastic was in some degree sacred; and unless he were degraded from his office, the unhallowed hand of the civil judge durst not touch him. But as the power of degradation was lodged in the Spiritual Courts, the difficulty and expence of obtaining such a sentence, too often secured absolute impunity to offenders. Many assumed the clerical character, for no other reason than that it might screen them from the punishment which their actions deserved. The German Nobles complained loudly, that these anointed malefactors, as they called them, seldom suffered capitally, even for the most atrocious crimes; and their independence of the civil magistrate is often mentioned in the remonstrances of the Diets, as a privilege equally pernicious to society, and to the morals of the Clergy.

While the Clergy asserted the privileges of their own order with so much zeal, they made continual encroachments upon those of the Laity. All causes relative to matrimony, to tes-

taments, to usury, to legitimacy of birth, as well as those which concerned Ecclesiastical Revenues, were thought to be so connected with religion, that they could be tried only in the Spiritual Courts. Not satisfied with this ample jurisdiction, which extended to one half of the subjects that gave rise to litigation among men, the Clergy, with wonderful industry, and by a thousand inventions, endeavoured to draw all other causes into their own courts.

Nor did the Clergy neglect the proper methods of preserving the wealth and power which they had acquired with such industry and address; the possessions of the Church being consecrated to God, were declared to be unalienable, so that the funds of a society which was daily gaining, and could never lose, grew to be immense. In Germany, it was computed that the Ecclesiastics had got into their hands more than one half of the national property. In other countries, the proportion varied, but the share belonging to the Church was every where prodigious. These vast possessions were not subject to the burdens imposed on the lands of the Laity. The German Clergy were exempted by law from all taxes; and if on any extraordinary emergence, Ecclesiastics were pleased to grant some aid towards supplying the public exigencies, this was considered as a free gift, flowing from their own generosity, which the civil magistrate had no right to demand, much less to exact.

The manner in which these extraordinary powers were exercised, rendered them still more odious and intolerable; the avarice and extortion of the Court of Rome were become excessive almost to a proverb. The practice of selling benefices was so notorious, that no pains were taken to conceal or disguise it. Companies of merchants openly purchased the benefices of different districts in Germany, from the Pope's ministers, and retailed them at an advanced price. Pious men beheld with deep regret, these simoniacal transactions, so unworthy the ministers of a Christian Church, while politicians complained of the loss sustained by the exportation of so much wealth in that irreligious traffic.

Such were the dissolute manners, the exorbitant wealth, the

enormous power and privileges of the Clergy before the Reformation, such the oppressive rigour of that dominion, which the Popes had established over the Christian world, and such the sentiments concerning them, that prevailed in Germany, at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

To men thus prepared for shaking off the yoke, Luther addressed himself with certainty of success. As they had long felt its weight, and had borne it with impatience, they listened with joy to the first offer of procuring their deliverance; hence proceeded the fond and eager reception that his doctrines met with, and the rapidity with which they spread over all the provinces of Germany. Even the impetuosity and fierceness of Luther's spirit, his confidence in asserting his own opinions, and the arrogance as well as contempt wherewith he treated all who differed from him, which, in ages of greater moderation and refinement, have been reckoned defects in the character of that Reformer, did not appear excessive to his contemporaries, whose minds were strongly agitated by those interesting controversies which he carried on, and who had themselves endured the rigour of Papal tyranny, and seen the corruptions in the Church, against which he exclaimed.

When proud men in power are hard pressed with the arguments or the complaints of their inferiors, there are only two methods, as they suppose, of parrying the ignoble thrust of their adversary, they must either crush by authority their troublesome opponents, or, shrouding themselves in a delusive security, treat the reasoning of their humble but powerful enemies, with "silent contempt:" often the miserable subterfuge of the cowardly and the vanquished. This was now the conduct of the Roman Court. The remonstrances of the wise and good were listened to, but disregarded; the satires and lampoons of the poets were laughed at, and forgotten; and for a long time, the innovating zeal of Luther, an "obscure monk in a corner of Germany," was treated with what was mistakenly deemed, a merited disregard.

Perhaps it may be said, and truly, that the love of ease, refinement, and polite literature, rather than the pride of Leo X. operated to the prejudice of the Church, and collater-

ally strengthened the cause of the Reformers. But it was those very feelings, swelling into disdain for the remonstrances and homely vulgarities of the real friends of religion and public virtue, that preyed like a canker on the Papal power, and by its corrosive qualities, weakened, if it could not destroy, the foundations of its own imperious dignity. In every point of view, the Church acted the part of a suicide. Next to the lordly pride of the Romish Court, we may reckon among the proximate causes of the Reformation, the luxury, extravagance, and religious indifference of Leo X.

About the period of Luther's first attack on the religion of the Catholics, Rome was in profound peace,\* and this interval of repose, Leo X. occupied in expensive schemes for aggrandizing the family of the Medici, in extending the splendour of the Papal See: and in lavishing presents on authors, artists, profane wits and buffoons. To support the enormous expence to which these propensities subjected the supreme Pontiff, required far greater resources than the now almost exhausted Papal treasury supplied.

\* This feeling of security pervaded all the Ecclesiastical Orders; the inferior as well as the superior clergy, accounted public opinion a thing of no moment, and lived only to gratify their appetites, and display their pride; but they were treading on ashes which concealed subterraneous fires. The elements of a mighty explosion were then accumulating; an explosion, which caused the throne of the Pontiffs to totter, and tore from their grasp the fairest portion of their empire. Like Belshazzar and his Lords, the Pope and his Cardinals passed the night in licentious festivity, and to give a greater zest to their carousal, they profaned "the vessels of the Lord:" as with Belshazzar too, an enemy approached the gate; but no Daniel was there, to interpret the handwriting upon the wall.

It is not in human nature that tyranny and extortion can long be patiently endured; and at this time, no country, no class of society, was exempt from intolerable burdens; so that while the Popes and their partisans were sunk in security and ease, the whole community was dissatisfied, restless, and complaining. Princes and sovereign states, were the first to exclaim against the Papal oppressions; and even among the Prelates, were found a few zealous opponents of the lordly ambition of the Bishops of Rome. The wealthy were wearied by exorbitant and lawless exactions; the diligent were disgusted by the idleness of the monks and friars, who swarmed like locusts, and like locusts, devoured every green leaf; while the people at large were shocked and alienated, by the gross and glaring immorality of the Popish clergy.

At no time was the Roman court in greater splendour, nor did the Vicars of Christ ever exhibit a magnificence so imposing, as that displayed during the Pontificate of Leo X. Every decoration that art could suggest; every wish that the most voluptuous appetite could engender; and every refinement that an unbounded love of science and literature could devise, found a patron in that luxurious prince. This great Mæcenas of his age, in his unrestrained admiration of talent and genius, scrupled not to lend his countenance, and to open his coffers to many palpable empirics and vulgar buffoons.

This profusion and magnificence in the supreme Pontiff, was amply copied by the Chiefs and the Princes of the Roman Court, who vied with each other in the grandeur and sumptuousness of their palaces, and the prodigality and gaiety of their entertainments; nor did it deduct from the pressure to which this extravagance exposed the subjects of the Papal dominions, that a considerable portion of the riches which were drained from the labour or the purses of the poor, were lavished without discrimination on artists, painters, and sculptors.

But the expensive dignity of the See of Rome was not the only ground of complaint. In the midst of courtly gaities and costly pageantry, the mind of the supreme Pontiff became insensible or indifferent to the dangers that were collecting around him. Leo X. has been accused of a natural disregard of theological studies, and the religious affairs of the Church; whilst the moderation to which he was urged as well by his own disposition, as by the wise counsel of his correspondent Erasmus, in some cases might be construed into indifference and unconcern. It is certain that he delayed, till it was too late, to exert his power to suppress the Reformation; and that when, at length, he did awaken to a sense of his danger, the violence which he manifested, or encouraged, tended only to add fuel to the flame. Divine Providence intending on the one hand to chastise the Church for her profligacy of manners, and on the other to free the Gospel of Christ from the errors and corruptions which had grown upon it, seems to have lulled the supreme Pontiff to a fatal security,



and to have struck with blindness those whom it designed to punish.

An admirer of the fine arts, from which he only sought fame and gratification, a crafty but presuming politician, prepossessed with contempt for the German rudeness of manners, under which he was unable to discover that strength and manliness of character, all the energy of which he had to encounter, Leo X. was not qualified to enter the lists with Luther; and the arrogant weakness of the one opened numberless advantages to the intrepid firmness of the other. Whoever considers the characteristic national differences between the Italians and Saxons, will perceive that Divine Providence had been secretly, but effectually, preparing for that great Reformation in the Church. The Italians adhered strongly to a religion which captivated their senses, and permitted the indulgence of all their vices; a taste for luxury, pomp and voluptuousness, with that of the fine arts, was all their enjoyment. Always oppressed, they were naturally deceitful, cunning, dissimulating, and selfish; every thing conducive to the enjoyment of taste, every thing flattering to the sensibility, physical and moral, had become the object of Italian activity. But the calm, equal, persevering activity of the Saxons, was directed to the abstract sciences, to philosophy, to historical researches. When the Reformation burst forth, there was not a single theologian of Italy, capable of encountering those of Saxony; some of them had the presumption to attempt it, a presumption always the associate of ignorance; they were defeated and covered with confusion. In revenge, Italy boasted loudly of her poets and her painters: she had not produced a Luther, but Saxony had not produced an Ariosto.

The recent invention of the Art of Printing operated in a very powerful manner, to bring into circulation those principles which at length produced the Reformation. Hence the reproaches so profusely cast on the conduct of the Clergy, were carried by means of the press to every cottage, and were read with eagerness by both the pious and profane; by those who saw the decay of devotion in the people, and the licentious-

ness of the clergy, with sentiments of sorrow and a wish to have them reformed; and also by those who saw these evils with a malicious pleasure, and a secret desire for the ruin of the Roman Court, and the destruction of the Papal hierarchy.

The revival of learning at the same period was a circumstance extremely friendly to the Reformation. The study of the ancient Greek and Roman authors, by enlightening the human mind with liberal and sound knowledge, roused it from that profound lethargy in which it had been sunk during several centuries. Mankind seem at that period to have recovered the powers of inquiring and of thinking for themselves, faculties of which they had long lost the use; and fond of the acquisition, they exercised them with great boldness upon all subjects. They were not now afraid of entering an uncommon path, or of embracing a new opinion.

Luther, though a stranger to elegance in taste or composition, zealously promoted the cultivation of ancient literature, and sensible of its being necessary to the right understanding of the Scriptures, he himself had acquired considerable knowledge both in the Hebrew and Greek tongues. Melancthon and some other of his disciples were eminent proficients in the polite arts; and as the same ignorant monks who opposed the introduction of learning into Germany, set themselves with equal fierceness against Luther's opinions, and declared the good reception of the latter to be the effect of the progress which the former had made, the cause of learning and of the Reformation came to be considered as closely connected with each other, and, in every country, had the same friends and the same enemies. This enabled the Reformers to carry on the contest at first with great superiority. Erudition, industry, accuracy of sentiment, purity of composition, even wit and raillery, were almost wholly on their side, and triumphed with ease over illiterate monks, whose rude arguments, expressed in a perplexed and barbarous style, were found insufficient for the defence of a system, the errors of which all the art and ingenuity of its later and more learned advocates have not been able to palliate.

The ill use which Tetzels and others made of the sale of

Indulgences, is a cause of the Reformation, which has been repeated by every writer on the subject, since the days of Luther. The splendour and magnificence of the Papal See, have been already stated, but we deferred to notice the enormous expences to which the Roman government was subjected in the completion of the astonishing fabric,\* began during the Pontificate of Julius II., the Church of Saint Peter at Rome.

\* The Basilica of St. Peter was the first and noblest religious edifice erected by Constantine. It stood on part of the circus of Nero, and was supposed to occupy a spot consecrated by the blood of numberless martyrs, exposed or slaughtered in that place of public amusement, by order of the tyrant. But its principal and exclusive advantage, was the possession of the body of St. Peter; a circumstance which raised it in credit and consideration, above the *Basilica Lateranensis*, dignified its threshold with the honourable appellation of the *Limina Apostolorum* (the threshold of the Apostles), and secured to it the first place in the affection and reverence of the Christian world. Not only monks and bishops, but princes and emperors visited its sanctuary with devotion, and even kissed, as they approached, the marble steps that led to its portal. Nor was this reverence confined to the orthodox monarchs who sat on the throne of the founder; it extended to barbarians, and more than once converted a cruel invader into a suppliant votary. The vandal *Genseric*, whose heart seldom felt emotions of mercy, while he plundered every house and temple with unrelenting fury, spared the treasures deposited under the roof of the Vatican Basilica, and even allowed the plate of the churches to be carried in solemn pomp to its inviolable altars. Totila, who, in a moment of vengeance, had sworn that he would bury the glory and the memory of Rome in its ashes, listened to the admonitions of the Pontiff, and resigned his fury at the tomb of the Apostles.

Every age, as it passed over the Vatican, seemed to add to its holiness and its dignity, and the coronation of an Emperor, or the installation of a Pope, the deposition of the remains of a prince, or the enshrinement of the reliques of a saint, appeared as so many tributes paid to its supereminence, and gave it so many new claims to the veneration of the Christian world. At length, however, after eleven centuries of glory, the walls of the ancient Basilica began to give way, and symptoms of approaching ruin were become so visible about the year 1450, that Nicholas V. conceived the project of taking down the old church, and erecting in its stead a new and more extensive structure. However, though the work was begun, yet it was carried on with feebleness and uncertainty during more than half a century, till Julius II. ascended the Papal throne, and resumed the great undertaking with that spirit and decision which distinguished all the measures of his active pontificate. Great princes generally find or create the talents requisite for their purposes, and Julius discovered in *Bramante*, an architect capable of comprehending and executing his

To accomplish this stupendous undertaking, larger supplies were become indispensably needful; and Leo X. as almost a

grandest conceptions. A plan was presented and approved. The walls of the ancient Basilica were taken down, and on the 18th of April, 1508, the foundation stone of one of the vast pillars that support the dome, was laid by Julius, with all the pomp and ceremony that became such an interesting occurrence. From that period the work, though carried on with ardor and perseverance, yet continued during the space of one hundred years, to occupy the attention and absorb the income of eighteen Pontiffs. I might have augmented this number, by the addition of the names of Urban VIII., Alexander VII. and their successors, down to Benedict XIII. who all contributed to the erection, embellishment, and completion, of the superb colonnade that opens before the church, and adds so much to its majesty. The Popes who have since followed have not been entirely inactive, but have endeavoured, each according to his ability, to acquire a share in the glory and duration of this edifice, by some decoration or improvement. In fine, the late Pius VI. built the sacristy, and by this very necessary appendage, which had till then been wanting, may be considered as having accomplished the grand undertaking, and given the Basilica Vaticana its full perfection.

On the whole, it would not be exaggeration to assert, that nearly 300 years elapsed, and 35 Pontiffs reigned, from the period of the commencement to that of the termination of this stupendous fabric. The most celebrated architects of modern times, had an opportunity of displaying their talents and immortalizing their names in the prosecution of the work, and *Bramante, Raffaello, San Gallo, Michael Angelo, Vignola, Carlo Maderno*, and *Bernini*, not to speak of others of less reputation, labored successively in its promotion or consummation.

To calculate the expence with any great precision would be difficult, but from the best information that has been collected on the subject, we may venture to state that, however enormous the sum may appear, the expenditure must have amounted at least to 12 millions sterling; and when we consider that the marbles, bronze, and other valuable materials employed in its decoration, are not only uncommon, but scarcely known out of Rome, we may add that it would require three times as much to raise a similar edifice in any other capital.

From the bridge and *Castel de St. Angelo*, a wide street conducts in a direct line to a square, and that square presents at once the court or portico, and part of the Basilica. When the spectator approaches the entrance of this court, he views four rows of lofty pillars, *sweeping* off to the right and left in a bold semicircle. In the centre of the area formed by this immense colonnade, an Egyptian obelisk, of one solid piece of granite, ascends to the height of 130 feet; two perpetual fountains, one on each side, play in the air, and fall in sheets round the basins of porphyry that receive them. Before him, raised on three successive flights of marble steps, extending 400 feet in length, and towering to the elevation of 180, he beholds the majestic front of the Basilica

last resource, resorted to a measure, which had been applied to as early as A. D. 1100., when Urban II. granted a plenary

itself. This front is supported by a single row of Corinthian pillars and pilasters, and adorned with an attic, a balustrade, and thirteen colossal statues. Far behind and above it rises the matchless dome, the justly celebrated *wonder of Rome and of the world*. The colonnade of coupled pillars that surround and strengthen its vast base, the graceful attic that surmounts this colonnade, the bold and expansive swell of the dome itself, and the pyramid seated on a cluster of columns, and bearing the ball and cross to the skies, all perfect in their kind, form the most magnificent and singular exhibition that the human eye perhaps ever contemplated.

The interior corresponds perfectly with the grandeur of the exterior, and fully answers the expectations, however great, which such an approach must naturally have raised. Five lofty portals open into the portico or vestibulum, a gallery, in dimensions and decorations, equal to the most spacious cathedrals. It is 400 feet in length, 70 in height, and 50 in breadth, paved with variegated marble, covered with a gilt vault, adorned with pillars, pilasters, mosaic and basso relievos, and terminated at both ends by equestrian statues, one of Constantine, the other of Charlemagne. A fountain at each extremity supplies a stream sufficient to keep a reservoir always full, in order to carry off every unseemly object, and perpetually refresh and purify the air and the pavement. Opposite the five portals of the vestibule are the five doors of the church; three are adorned with pillars of the finest marble; that in the middle has valves of bronze.

As you enter, you behold the most extensive hall ever constructed by human art, expanded in magnificent perspective before you; advancing up the nave, you are delighted with the beauty of the variegated marble under your feet, and with the splendour of the golden vault over your head. The lofty Corinthian pilasters with their bold entablature, the intermediate niches with their statues, the arcades with the graceful figures that recline on the curves of their arches, charm your eye in succession as you pass along. But how great your astonishment when you reach the foot of the altar, and standing in the centre of the church, contemplate the four superb vistas that open around you; and then raise your eyes to the dome, at the prodigious elevation of 400 feet, extended like a firmament over your head, and presenting, in glowing mosaic, the companies of the just, the choirs of celestial spirits, and the whole hierarchy of Heaven arrayed in the presence of the Eternal, whose "throne high raised above all height" crowns the awful scene.

The high altar stands under the dome, and thus as it is the most important, so it becomes the most striking object. In order to add to its relief, and give it all its majesty, according to the ancient custom still retained in the patriarchal churches at Rome, and in most of the cathedrals in Italy, a lofty canopy rises above it, and forms an intermediate break or repose for the eye, between it and the immensity of the dome above. The form, materials, and magnitude

indulgence and remission of sins, to all such persons as should join in the Crusades, to liberate the holy sepulchre from the hands of the infidels. In thus reviving an ancient practice,

of this decoration are equally astonishing. Below the steps of the altar, and of course some distance from it, at the corners, on four massive pedestals, rise four twisted pillars, fifty feet in height, and support an entablature which bears the canopy itself, topped with a cross. The whole soars to an elevation of 132 feet from the pavement, and excepting the pedestals is of Corinthian brass! the most lofty massive work of that or of any other metal now known. But this brazen edifice, for so it may be called, notwithstanding its magnitude, is so disposed as not to obstruct the view by concealing the chancel and veiling the *Cathedral* or *Choir* of St. Peter. The choir is a lofty throne, elevated to the height of 70 feet from the pavement; a circular window, tinged with yellow, throws from above a milder splendour around it, so that the whole not unfitly represents the pre-eminence of the Apostolic See, and is acknowledged to form a most becoming and majestic termination to the first of Christian temples.

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To conclude.—In magnitude, elevation, opulence, and beauty, the church of St. Peter has no rival, and bears no comparison: in neatness, cleanliness, and convenience, so necessary to the advantageous display of magnificence, if any where equalled, it can no where be surpassed. It is cool in summer, and in winter dry and warm: its portals are ever open, and every visitant, whether attracted by devotion or by curiosity, may range over it at leisure, and without being molested or even noticed, either contemplate its beauties, or pour out his prayers before its altars. Thus the Basilica Vaticana unites the perfection of art with the *beauty of holiness*, and may justly claim the affection and reverence of the traveller, both as the temple of taste and the sanctuary of religion.—*Eustace*.

Leo X. was not introducing any new mode of taxation ; yet he took no pains to secure the Church from the disgrace which she subsequently sustained, by the improper use of this extraordinary species of traffic. But the mere act of vending remittances of holy discipline, was not all. The Commissioners in this ignoble traffic, were not chosen from among the ranks of wise, prudent, and honest men. John Tetzel, a Dominican Friar, of the most depraved habits and vicious principles, was appointed by Albert, Elector of Mentz, and Archbishop of Magdeburg, to dispose of these dishonourable wares, to the credulous and deluded people. Being determined to extend the benefit of his commerce as much as possible ; he scrupled not to exceed the bounds of his commission, nor to extol his merchandize, as abounding with every virtue, that the most meritorious sacrifice or service could confer.

To Tetzel were assigned many subordinate agents, who visited the different countries of Europe, in order to sell their iniquitous wares ; and every where, by the licentiousness and profligacy of their conduct, outraged the principles of decency, and the feelings of the people.

To such an impious length did this minister of iniquity extend his blasphemies, as to declare, that these indulgences would atone for every vice, past, present, or to come, and remit every punishment, both in this life and in the next, to which the most profligate wretch could be exposed.

“ If any man,” said Tetzel and his disciples, “ purchase letters of indulgence, his soul may rest secure with respect to its Salvation. The souls confined in purgatory, for whose redemption, indulgences are purchased, as soon as the money tinkles in the chest, instantly escape from that place of torment, and ascend into heaven.” They asserted that “ the efficacy of indulgences was so great, that the most heinous sins, even if one should violate, (which was impossible) the Mother of God, would be remitted and expiated by them. That this was the unspeakable gift of God, in order to reconcile men to himself. That the cross erected by the preachers of indulgences, was as efficacious as the cross of Christ itself. Lo ! the heavens are now open ; if you enter not now, when will you enter ? For twelve-pence

you may redeem the soul of your father out of purgatory : and are you so ungrateful, that you will not rescue your parent from torment ? if you had but one coat, you ought to strip yourself, and sell it, in order to purchase such benefits." The foundation of all this system seemed to be this ; there was supposed to be an infinite treasure of merit in Christ and the Saints, which was thought abundantly more than sufficient for themselves. Thus, what is strictly true of the Divine Saviour, was asserted also of Saints ; namely, that their righteousness could be *imparted* to others. This treasure was deposited in the Church, under the conduct of the See of Rome, and was sold, **LITERALLY SOLD FOR MONEY**, at that See's discretion, to those who were able and willing to pay for it ; and few were found willing to undergo the course of a severe penance of unpleasant austerities, when they could afford to commute for it by pecuniary payments. The Popes, and under them the Bishops, and the Clergy, particularly the Dominican and Franciscan Friars, had the disposal of this treasure, and as the Pontiffs had the power of canonizing new Saints at their own will, the fund was ever growing ; and so long as the system could maintain its credit, the riches of their Church, thus secularized under the appearance of religion, became a sea without a shore. No impartial examiner of authentic records, will say that this account of indulgences is overcharged, a much stronger representation might have been drawn. In fact, these were the symptoms of the last stage of Papal depravity, and as the moral evils which they encouraged, were plain to every one not totally destitute of discernment, they were soon perceived, and were the first objects assaulted by the Reformers.

The annexed copy of one of these pardons, will best evince their general nature. " May Our Lord Jesus Christ have mercy upon thee, and absolve thee by the merits of his most holy passion ! And I, by the authority of His blessed Apostles, Peter and Paul, and of the Most Holy Pope ; granted and committed to me, in these arts, do absolve thee, first, from all ecclesiastical censures, in whatever manner they may have been incurred ; and then from all thy sins, transgressions and



excesses, how enormous soever they be, even from such as are reserved for the cognizance of the Holy See; and as far as the keys of the Holy Church extend, I remit to thee all punishment, which thou dost deserve in purgatory on their account, and I restore thee to the holy sacraments of the Church, to the unity of the faithful, and to that innocence and purity which thou didst possess at baptism; so that when thou dost die, the gates of punishment shall be shut, and the gates of paradise of delight shall be opened; and if thou shall not die at present, this grace shall remain in full force, when thou art at the point of death! In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." This blasphemous and most ridiculous fraud was played off upon the people in every possible shape, while the infamous fabricator and vender wallowed in every species of luxury, debauchery, and wickedness. An abuse so flagrant could not but raise the honest indignation of every thinking person; accordingly, when the Emperor Maximilian was at Inspruck, he was so offended at the wickedness and impudence of Tetzl, who had been convicted of adultery, that he condemned him to death, and had intended to have him seized and put into a bag, and flung into the River Oenoponte, but he was prevented by the solicitations of Frederic, the Elector of Saxony, who fortunately for Tetzl, happened to be there at the time. Luther, who was then uninformed on the question of indulgences, though he had been studying the subject of his personal justification before God, was roused by the concourse of people who flocked into the town to procure them, to observe to them mildly, that there were other things more worthy their attention. Luther, who was a native of Saxony, and had received his education in the Romish Communion, was at that time, a Monk of the Order of Saint Augustine, and Professor of Divinity at Wittenberg. This man, whose mind was formed for penetration, and the discovery of truth, and whose heart beat high with all those feelings which constitute the Champion and the Martyr, occupied at this eventful period, the honorable post of danger. Roused by the insolence of Tetzl, and alarmed by the crying *abuses* of this unholy traffic, his faculties were awakened to

must be oracles ; who pretended to reign not only over the external actions of men, but to lord it also over their souls, and their consciences ; and who left nothing so reserved in the deepest and most inward motions of the soul, of which he did not demand its subjection. As the temporal monarch of the whole earth, he assumed the power of deposing Princes, without any fault having been committed by them, if the good of the Church seemed to him to require it ; and the Sovereign who was thus deposed, was often compelled, before he was reinstated on his throne, to kiss the feet of the Pontiff, and to perform to that holy ruler the most degrading offices.

During this period, indeed, and for many ages previous, the Popes reigned with the most despotic sway. If any man dared to lift his voice against them, he was not only condemned to cruel tortures in time, but to damnation throughout eternity ! In proof of this, we have only to reflect on the numerous murders, accompanied with the most fearful anathemas, which the votaries of the Church of Rome committed on all who differed from them in the smallest point ; being perfectly aware, also, that the religion of Christ was directly opposed to the system of Popery, they deprived the people of the use of the Scriptures altogether. The wealth, too, of the See of Rome, and of the Clergy in general, was immense, and every effort was made to increase their revenues. Hence, the various inventions of masses, pence, pilgrimages, relics, indulgences, absolutions, dispensations, and a thousand other devices, which were employed to rob the people of their property ; and while the money which was collected through all these channels, assisted to support the dignity, and increase the insolence of these Ecclesiastical Rulers, all was done under the mask of religion.

“ I am afraid,” says a German Bishop, “ that the doctrine of the Apostle touching the qualifications of a bishop is but very ill observed in these days, or rather that we are fallen into those times which he noted, when he said, ‘ I know that after my departure, ravenous wolves will come among you, not sparing the flock.’ Acts 20. 29. Where may one see a good man chosen to be a bishop ? one approved by his works and

## CHAPTER II.

### STATE OF THE ROMAN CHURCH IN FAITH AND MORALS AT THE PERIOD OF THE REFORMATION.

PREVIOUS, however, to commencing an account of Luther's breach with the See of Rome, and of the important consequences with which it was followed to a great portion of Europe, it is necessary that we more particularly advert to the state of religion in that church from which he separated, in the beginning of the 16th century. The picture is, indeed, dismal, but its exhibition may serve, in some measure, to enhance the value of the Reformation which dispelled the thick gloom that covered the Christian World, and brought light to thousands who had long sat in darkness.

Pretending to be appointed the head of the Church by Christ himself, the Roman Pontiff affirmed that he himself was God on earth; that his commands and those of God were of equal authority; and that to call his power in question, was to call in question the power of the Deity. Hence he claimed and exercised an unlimited control over the consciences of men; imposing on the world whatever absurdities he pleased, and commanding the very thoughts of all to be under subjection to him. Nor was even this enough. Raising himself above every other Prince, he set up and put down the most mighty Kings at his pleasure.

Men saw, at this time, that the government of the Church was framed according to the model of secular empires; they saw an almost innumerable company of dignitaries elevated by pompous titles, canons, honours, pre-eminences, and privileges, upheld by the vast riches and the splendor of the world, and all of them together depending on a Sovereign High Priest, who had lifted himself up above the whole Church, as its rightful monarch: whose words must be laws, and whose laws

must be oracles ; who pretended to reign not only over the external actions of men, but to lord it also over their souls, and their consciences ; and who left nothing so reserved in the deepest and most inward motions of the soul, of which he did not demand its subjection. As the temporal monarch of the whole earth, he assumed the power of deposing Princes, without any fault having been committed by them, if the good of the Church seemed to him to require it ; and the Sovereign who was thus deposed, was often compelled, before he was reinstated on his throne, to kiss the feet of the Pontiff, and to perform to that holy ruler the most degrading offices.

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his learning, and any one who is not either a child, or worldly, or ignorant of spiritual things? The far greater number come to the prelateship more by underhand canvassings, and ill ways, than by election and lawful ways. That disorder which may be seen in the ecclesiastical dignities, sets the Church in danger of perishing; for Solomon says, 'There is one evil which I have seen under the sun, as an error which proceedeth from the ruler, when a fool is raised to high dignity.' Eccl. 10. 5, 6. It is therefore that I said, that the bishops ought to excel in learning, to the end that by their instructions and their preaching they might govern others profitably. But, alas! what bishop have we now-a-days that preaches, or has any care of the souls committed to him? There are, besides that, very few who are contented with one spouse alone, that is to say, with one only church, and who seek not to appropriate to themselves more dignities, more prebends, and what is yet more to be condemned, more bishoprics. Our bishops are feasting at their own tables when they should be at the altar; they are unwise in the things of God, but they love the wisdom of the world; they are more intent on temporal affairs, than on the work of Jesus Christ. Their bodies are adorned with gold, and their souls defiled with filth; they are ashamed to meddle with spiritual things, and their glory lies in their scurrilous humour and carriage. Whence it was that Catherine of Sienna told them, 'That in the blindness wherein they were, they placed their glory in that which was truly their shame, and that on the contrary they held those things to be a reproach to them whereon their honour and salvation did depend; to wit, in humbling themselves under their Head, which was God. Furthermore, they have no love for any but sinners; they despise the poor; and howsoever the Canons forbid them, they keep about their persons pimps, debauchers of women, flatterers, buffoons, players, where they should have had wise and holy men.'

"The bishops have renounced hospitality; they neglect the poor of Jesus Christ, but they make themselves fat, and feed their dogs and other beasts; as if with a formed design, they would be in the number of those to whom Christ shall say,

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of this decoration are equally astonishing. Below the steps of the altar, and of course some distance from it, at the corners, on four massive pedestals, rise four twisted pillars, fifty feet in height, and support an entablature which bears the canopy itself, topped with a cross. The whole soars to an elevation of 132 feet from the pavement, and excepting the pedestals is of Corinthian brass! the most lofty massive work of that or of any other metal now known. But this brazen edifice, for so it may be called, notwithstanding its magnitude, is so disposed as not to obstruct the view by concealing the chancel and veiling the *Cathedral* or *Choir* of St. Peter. The choir is a lofty throne, elevated to the height of 70 feet from the pavement; a circular window, tinged with yellow, throws from above a milder splendour around it, so that the whole not unfitly represents the pre-eminence of the Apostolic See, and is acknowledged to form a most becoming and majestic termination to the first of Christian temples.

Under the high altar of St. Peter's is the tomb of that Apostle, formerly called the *Confession of St. Peter*, an appellation which it has communicated to the altar and its canopy. The descent to it is before, that is, to the west of the altar, where a large open space leaves room for a double flight of steps, and for an area before two brass folding doors that admit into a vault, whose grated floor is directly over the tomb. The rails that surround this space above, are adorned with 112 bronze cornucopiæ, which serve as supporters to as many silver lamps that burn perpetually in honour of the Apostle. The pavement of the area is upon a level with the *Sacre Grotte*, (Sacred grotto, or caves), though the regular entrance into those subterranean recesses is under one of the great pillars that support the dome: here intrepid Otho, the turbulent Alexander, and the polished Christina, lie mouldering near the hallowed ashes of the Apostles Peter and Paul, of the Holy Pontiffs Linus, Silvester, and Adrian. The low vault closes over their porphyry tombs, and silence and darkness brood uninterrupted around them.

To conclude.—In magnitude, elevation, opulence, and beauty, the church of St. Peter has no rival, and bears no comparison: in neatness, cleanliness, and convenience, so necessary to the advantageous display of magnificence, if any where equalled, it can no where be surpassed. It is cool in summer, and in winter dry and warm: its portals are ever open, and every visitant, whether attracted by devotion or by curiosity, may range over it at leisure, and without being molested or even noticed, either contemplate its beauties, or pour out his prayers before its altars. Thus the Basilica Vaticana unites the perfection of art with the *beauty of holiness*, and may justly claim the affection and reverence of the traveller, both as the temple of taste and the sanctuary of religion.—*Eustace*.

do nothing but what creates scandal. They despise the foresight of their holy mother the Church, which ordains that when the rectors of churches shall not be able to preach, they should employ fit persons, which should in their stead edify the people by their word and their example, and that they should supply them with all needful things. But on the contrary, the prelates and curates are only careful to put into their places men that are very well skilled, not to feed the sheep, but to poll them, to destroy, and flay them.' ”

“ Those who rule the churches commit three sins ; the one is that they live a beastly and luxurious life, the other that they have a covetousness as insatiable as the gulfs of the sea, and the third is, that they are prodigal to satisfy their own vanity ; as the torrents that pour forth their waters impetuously, such horrible sins which they commit ascend up to Heaven before the face of God, and hinder the intercession of Jesus Christ as the black clouds disturb the purity of the air. The revenues of the Church are given, not to the servants of God, but to those of the devil ; to the debauchers of women, to adulterers, gamesters, hunters, flatterers, and such like men ; and hence also it is that the house of God is become tributary to the devil. The abbot, who ought never to be out of his monastery, but to be the head and example to the rest of the religious, is become the head of a whole troop of lewd women, with their trains of bastards : instead of being an example to and feeder of the poor, he makes himself master of their alms, and he may be seen far oftener in the field with the soldiers, than in his cloister. He ought to be the father and the instructor of his brethren, but he is their seducer and their tyrant. For while he enjoys himself, and lives in pomp and delights, those poor miserable religious pass away all their days in murmurings and afflictions.” That author describes in the same style the lives of the canons, monks, and other ecclesiastics, and that which he has said does not leave us any more room to doubt that there was in the Church, in those days, as great and as general a disorder as can be conceived.

He does not spare the Court of Rome, but on the contrary, *he sets forth* in a lively manner their excess, even to say, that

“that court is the seat of the beast, that is to say, the church of the wicked, that is, the kingdom of darkness. That it is a loathsome pit that devours riches, and is filled by covetousness. That the law is far from the priest, the visions of the prophet, and the counsel of the old men. That the heads of the Church serve themselves by simony and ambition; and that, in a word, the sins of those people are such, that they cannot be either concealed or denied, since Rome is become a gulf of crimes. Where the Pope ought to cry with Jesus Christ, ‘Come, and you shall find rest for your souls,’ he cries, ‘Come and see me in a far greater pomp and pride than ever Solomon was in, come to my court, empty your purses there, and you shall find destruction for your souls.’”

If we take a view of the doctrines of Christianity, as taught and received in these ages, they appear to have been either altogether lost, or so changed and corrupted, as to resemble “the doctrines of devils,” rather than those of Christ. Useless, and even senseless, ceremonies supplied the place of genuine religion; saints and images became the objects of worship, instead of the one Jehovah; and pilgrimages to Rome were established as an atonement for sin, in place of the one sacrifice of the Divine Redeemer. Pieces of wood, pretended to be taken from the cross, or an arm, or even a finger or a toe of a saint, were sold to the blinded people as relics, possessing the greatest efficacy for healing the maladies both of body and mind. The pilgrimages to the tombs of saints, and the offerings which were there presented, were declared to be highly meritorious, as drawing down from Heaven the holy and benign influence of the particular saint to whom the gift was bequeathed; and instead of justification through the righteousness of Christ, contributions to religious houses, donations to the Church, or legacies to the Clergy, were substituted as what would infallibly secure a place in endless glory.

Besides changing the very nature and use of the sacraments, the Bishops and Clergy had increased their number to seven, and, in order to preserve uniformity, as they alleged, in public worship, the services of religion were appointed to be per-



formed in an unknown tongue. They also extended their influence over men beyond the grave, by the invention of a middle state between Heaven and Hell, called Purgatory, where the soul of the sinner was doomed to suffer until perfectly purified from iniquity; and these sufferings could only be terminated by masses and prayers, which were to be purchased for money. In short, the religion of the 15th century was a series of the most abominable and degrading inventions, which were all made subservient to advance the wealth of a rapacious and villainous priesthood.

The practice of the Romish Church exactly corresponded with its principles. The greatest crimes being forgiven for money, the people were, in a manner, licenced to commit sin with the greatest freedom. In particular, the traffic in Indulgences or Pardons, sold for whatever iniquities a man could commit, was carried to a shameful and disgusting length, and as we shall afterwards perceive, became the first cause of Luther's quarrel with the See of Rome. Vice, uncontrolled by scripture or reason, reigned, almost every where, triumphant. The very head of the Church was often one of the most abandoned of characters. Luxury, indolence, and the most infamous practices of every kind, were indulged in without a blush. The abominations of the most barbarous ages appeared in their Courts; and, sometimes, a Pope, to whom his predecessor had been an enemy, gave orders to dig the bones of the preceding Pontiff out of the grave, and, instituting a process against them, commanded them to be thrown into the Tiber. But the deeds of darkness which were performed by the Popes are not only almost incredible, but are too gross even to be mentioned. They appear to have been "given up to a reprobate mind, to work all manner of iniquity with greediness," while they pretended, all the while, to be the vicegerents of "the HOLY ONE AND THE JUST," and to be intrusted with the keys of the heavenly world!!

Wise and holy men began now to see that practices so scandalously corrupt, were connected with the grossest ignorance of Christian truth. The doctrine of Justification, in its explicit form, had been lost, for many ages, to the Christian

world. If men had **REALLY BELIEVED** that by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ salvation was obtained, and that God "justifies the ungodly" through faith alone, how could they have been imposed on by the traffic of Indulgences? In whatever manner the Papist might subtilize and divide, he was compelled by his system to hold that by a compliance with the rules of the Church, either in the way of Indulgences, or by some severer mode, pardon was to be obtained; and that the satisfaction of Christ was not sufficiently meritorious for this end; in other words, that the gift of God is **NOT** eternal life by Jesus Christ our Lord. (See Rom. vi. end.) And, in fact, the preachers of Indulgences, whether Popes themselves or their ministers, held out to the people with sufficient clearness, that the inheritance of eternal life was to be purchased by **INDULGENCES**. Even when the traffic of Indulgences was checked by the Pontiffs, as being carried on in too gross a manner, no clear account was given in what the abuse consisted. In fine, it was evident that no Reformation could take place, through the medium of qualifying and correcting abuses of this traffic. The system itself was wholly impious; and the right knowledge of justification was the only remedy adequate to the evil. This, therefore, the reader is to look for as the most capital object of the Reformation, and thus in the demolition of one of the vilest perversions of superstition, there suddenly arose, and revived in all its infant simplicity, that apostolical doctrine in which is contained the great mystery of the Scriptures.

It is evident, that to overturn such a system of corruption, as we have described the Church of Rome to be, supported by power and defended with the greatest industry, must have required more than the strength of man. While we revere the instruments, therefore, by whom the Reformation was accomplished, its success must be ascribed **ENTIRELY** to *Him* "who loved the Church, and gave himself for it;" and "who doeth according to his will in the armies of Heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth."

The indecent conflicts, especially between the electors of the Roman Pontiffs, who, being sometimes divided into

parties, raised more than one at a time to the Papal chair, greatly assisted in leading men to question the infallibility of both the Church and its head. They saw one council thundering its anathemas against another, and against the respective Popes which each had elected. The rival Pontiffs themselves were no less liberal in their curses against each other, which they extended to all who adhered to their opponent. The divisions which such a state of things occasioned in every nation in Europe, proved a powerful cause of weakening the power of Rome, and of alienating the minds of multitudes from a Church which had so many *infallible heads*, being quite uncertain whom they ought to follow.

The empire of superstition, besides, had received a severe blow from the revival of learning in Europe. It was the policy of the Court of Rome and its servile Clergy, to keep the people in total ignorance. The study of the ancient languages had long been represented as idolatrous, and the reading of the Bible prohibited. But schools and universities had begun to be established in various Kingdoms, which were countenanced by their respective sovereigns. The knowledge which these institutions disseminated, it was impossible for the patrons of ignorance to prevent, and, in spite of the opposition manifested by an illiterate and crafty priesthood, the ancient languages, history, and the sciences were publicly taught, and eagerly studied. The extensive information which was thus attained, kindled in the minds of multitudes the love of truth and of liberty; and the superstitions and corruptions of the Roman Court and Clergy now became the objects of the severe, yet just, attacks of the most enlightened and eloquent men in Europe. In particular, the pointed invectives of the famous Erasmus, of Rotterdam, against the errors both of the Popish doctrine and worship, proved highly beneficial, in preparing men for shaking off the yoke of anti-christian bondage. Accordingly, when Luther commenced the Reformation, he received an effective, though not a decided, support from the pen of that elegant writer. The corruptions which Erasmus plainly perceived in the Church he either severely censured, or exposed to ridicule; and when Luther

first began his attack on the same idolatrous system, Erasmus approved of his conduct, and encouraged him to persevere in his endeavours to lead his countrymen to a saving acquaintance with the Scriptures of truth. It must, however, be acknowledged, that though Erasmus prepared the way for the reception of the Reformation, he afterwards turned his back on the Reformer. His love of ease and of the esteem of persons in high rank, and his dread of losing the pensions which they conferred on him, soon led him to censure Luther as too daring; and, at length, to employ his pen against him.

A simultaneous activity, a desire of improvement, and of personal distinction, connected with the progress; new directions of thought, and new facts or opinion resulting from industrious research, and very varied pursuits, appeared to be now rising in every department of human exertion and enquiry. The labours and the results were not, as in former times, partial and limited; the mind began to act with an universality, and with an emulous diversity which had never been witnessed by preceding ages. In science, in art, in war, in literature, in mechanical inventions, in navigation, in polity, and in a more diffused and elaborate education, as well as on the venerated topics of religion and its establishments, individuals from every class of life, and in every region of the continent, emerged into notice by their activity, their improvements, their speculations and their discoveries. The intellectual principle, which animates and guides the human frame, displayed, in all things, an excited and an investigating curiosity; awakening from the sleep of its former contentedness, and never to be deadened or satiated again.

The kindling feelings of mankind assumed, at this time, a public form in Hungary, while Luther was living a contented Monk and an eager Papist, when, in 1508, the Waldenses petitioned the Hungarian King to allow of their dissent from the Roman See, on the doctrinal points which they respectfully stated. Their apology anticipated and argued most of the tenets for which Luther and his religious co-operators afterwards contended. They made faith their great principle, and the Scriptures its foundation; they desired the Holy

Sacrament to be administered in the exact words of our Saviour, without any addition, to preclude all controversy, and they stated that purgatory was but the invention of the well known Thomas Aquinas, and that it had not been thought of, or used as a formal doctrine, before he conceived and suggested it. Analagous dispartings of opinions from the Papal Creed were spreading so eagerly in Switzerland, that Zuinglius started there simultaneously with Luther, and with equal effect; he began to teach at Zurich in 1519, and was successful in overturning Popery in Zurich, Berne, Constance, Geneva, Strasburgh, and Basle.

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### CHAPTER III.

#### LUTHER.

THIS great Reformer was born at Eisleben, a small town of Upper Saxony, on the 10th of November, 1483. Though his parents were not in affluent circumstances, they were enabled to give him a liberal education. Luther was, accordingly, sent first to a school at Magdeburg, and, afterwards, to one at Eisenach, where he spent four years, during which period he made rapid progress in his studies. In 1501 he entered the University of Erfurt, in Thuringia, where he took the degree of Master of Arts, with the intention of studying the civil law. From this intention he was diverted by seeing one of his companions struck dead with lightning, which made such a deep impression on his mind, that, contrary to the remonstrances of his father, he entered a Monastery of Augustinian Friars at Erfurt, at the age of 22. Here he em-

ployed himself in reading, meditation, and prayer, together with incessant labor at his studies. His desire to attain knowledge was exceedingly ardent; but, to his great grief, among the numerous books which he perused, he found nothing which could lead him to an acquaintance with divine truth.

At length, quite unexpectedly, he was conducted, by divine providence, to the very fountain of true learning. In 1507, the second year after he had entered the Monastery, he discovered a Latin copy of the Bible in the library, which had lain there for a long time quite neglected. He immediately applied himself to the study of this inestimable treasure, when, to his astonishment, he found that not only were the truths which it contained withheld from the people, but that innumerable errors were substituted in their place.

The Bible now became the daily companion of Luther; the most striking passages of which he committed to memory: he was greatly refreshed too by the discourses of a good old Monk, who shewed him that pardon of sin was to be obtained only through faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. Almost the whole of his time was now spent in acquiring the knowledge of Divine truth and secular learning. His fame soon spread through the country, and he was not only held in high estimation by his countrymen, but considered the most ingenious and learned man of his order in Germany.

In contemplating the qualities and endowments of Luther, we have no hesitation in affirming that it is not easy to find a more blameless, or even a more excellent character. No man, since the Apostles days, had penetrated into the sacred oracles with such singular felicity; he was endowed with a greatness of soul far beyond the common lot of man; a dangerous gift in a fallen creature! It was through divine grace that he was enabled to display and persevere in a conduct the **MOST** consistent, incorrupt, and disinterested; his bold and adventurous spirit never appears, in any one instance, to have made the smallest encroachment on the most perfect integrity. Humane, generous, and placable, he was rarely diverted from the path of equity, and, notwithstanding the uncommon

vehemence of his temper, he was often submissive and condescending. With an exquisite sensibility and readiness of conception, with a zeal and an imagination which never remitted their ardour for a single moment, he was most perfectly free from enthusiasm, and with a great capacity, and an unparalleled intrepidity, he seems to have been devoid of ambition, and contented to live all his days in very moderate circumstances. ONLY the wise disposer of all events, for the glory of his own name, and for the revival of true religion in Europe, by the effectual operation of his Holy Spirit, could have produced at the season when most wanted so faithful a champion; one possessed of so much vigour of intellect, of so daring a spirit, and of so truly humble and Christian-like a temper.

Such was the illustrious Luther when he was called upon by Divine Providence to enter the lists alone, and without one assured human ally, against the hosts of the pretended successor of St. Peter, who was then domineering over the Christian world in all his grandeur and plenitude of power.

Frederick, Elector of Saxony, having founded an University at Wittenberg, was so charmed with the eloquence of Luther, that he resolved to make him one of its teachers. Luther was, accordingly, called to the chair of philosophy at the early age of 25, where he soon distinguished himself by his acuteness, his learning, and the liberality of his sentiments. A dispute having shortly afterwards arisen, between seven Convents of Augustinians and the Vicar General, which was carried by appeal to the Pope, Luther was sent to Rome in 1510, for the purpose of bringing this matter to an amicable termination; which he accomplished with so much ability and success, that, on his return, he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity. The effect which this journey produced on him was very great: while he expected to see the ministers of religion, in what was styled the Holy City, acting in a manner becoming their office, what must have been his indignation and sorrow at finding them indulging in licentiousness, indecency, and profanity. We find him, therefore, complaining of their impiety in the following words, "I have seen the

Pope and the Pope's Court, and have had opportunity of observing, personally, the morals of the Romish Clergy. I performed Mass there, and I saw it performed by others, but in such a manner that I never think of it without horror." So deep and lasting, indeed, was the impression which the conduct of the Italian Priests made on his mind, that he used often, afterwards, to say that he "would rather have parted with a thousand florins, than have lost the instruction afforded him by that journey." Luther, however, was still firmly attached to the Church of Rome; which he, at that time, believed to be the true Church of Christ, and never thought of altering any of its endless ceremonies.

While Luther was now at the height of his reputation and authority, Tetzel began to publish Indulgences in the neighbourhood of Wittemberg, and to ascribe to them the same imaginary virtues, which had in other places imposed on the credulity of the people. As Saxony was not more enlightened than the other provinces of Germany, Tetzel met with prodigious success there. It was with the utmost concern that Luther beheld the artifices of those who sold, and the simplicity of those who bought Indulgences. The opinions of Thomas Aquinas and the other schoolmen, on which the doctrine of Indulgence was founded, had already lost much of their authority with him; and the Scriptures, which he began to consider as the great standard of theological truth, afforded no countenance to a practice equally subversive of faith and of morals. His warm and impetuous temper did not suffer him long to conceal such important discoveries, or to continue a silent spectator of the delusion of his countrymen. From the pulpit of the great church in Wittemberg, he inveighed bitterly against the irregularities and vices of the Monks who published Indulgences; he ventured to examine the doctrines which they taught, and pointed out to the people the danger of relying for salvation upon any other means than those appointed by God in his word. The boldness and novelty of these opinions drew great attention; and being recommended by the authority of Luther's personal character, and delivered with a popular and persuasive



eloquence, they made a deep impression on his hearers. Encouraged by the favourable reception of his doctrines among the people, he wrote to Albert, Elector of Mentz and Archbishop of Madgeburg, to whose jurisdiction that part of Saxony was subject, and remonstrated warmly against the false opinions, as well as wicked lives, of the preachers of Indulgences, but he found that Prelate too deeply interested in their success to correct their abuses.

The next step taken by Luther was to gain the suffrage of learned men. For this purpose he published 95 propositions or theses, in which he distinctly stated his own opinion of Indulgences; these, according to the custom of that age, in any doubtful case, he affixed to the church walls, with an invitation to all men of learning to meet on a certain day, to debate on them, and, if he had acted wrong, to convince him of his error; concluding with a declaration of his high respect for the Pope and the Church of Rome: an evidence that, as yet, Luther did not dispute the right of the Roman Pontiff to grant Indulgences, and that he found it no easy matter to shake off prejudices which had been early imbibed and long riveted. When the day arrived which had been fixed by Luther, none appeared to answer or confute his propositions. The theses spread over Germany with astonishing rapidity, they were read with the greatest eagerness, and all admired the boldness of the man, who had ventured not only to call in question the plenitude of Papal power, but to attack the Dominicans, who were armed with all the terrors of inquisitorial authority.

The Friars of St. Augustine, Luther's own order, though addicted with no less obsequiousness than the other monastic fraternities to the Papal See, gave no check to the publication of these uncommon opinions, for Luther had, by his piety and learning, acquired extraordinary authority among his brethren; he professed the highest regard for the authority of the Pope; his professions were, at that time, sincere, and as a secret enmity, excited by interest or emulation, subsists among all the monastic orders in the Romish Church, the Augustinians were highly pleased with his invectives against the Dominicans,

and hoped to see them exposed to the hatred and scorn of the people. Nor was his sovereign, the Elector of Saxony, the wisest prince at that time in Germany, dissatisfied with this obstruction which Luther threw in the way of the publication of Indulgences. He secretly encouraged the attempt, and flattered himself that the dispute among the Ecclesiastics themselves might give some check to the exactions of the Court of Rome, which the secular princes had long, though without success, been endeavouring to oppose.

These propositions of Luther were promulgated at Wittenberg, at the College in which he was doctor. Ignorant of a stipulation made between Leo X. and Albert of Brandenburg, by which the latter should retain one half of the profits arising from these Indulgences, Luther addressed a letter of remonstrance to this Elector; but, as might naturally have been supposed, no regard was paid to his complaints. Exasperated by this neglect, he next published to the world the propositions he had read in the Church of Wittenberg. They contained many censures on the Pope himself, but were rendered as palatable as possible by repeated expressions of obedience to the Papal authority, and the doctrines and decisions of the Church. On the first appearance of these Propositions, Tetzel, the principal vendor of the Indulgences, by the appointment of the Elector of Mentz, endeavoured to defend a traffic in which he had so much personal interest. To effect this purpose, he published 109 Counter-Propositions, and then publicly burned those by Luther.

"A soul," said Tetzel in his Theses, "may go to Heaven in the very moment in which the money is cast into the chest; the man who buys off his own sins by Indulgences, merits more than he who gives alms to the poor, unless it be in extreme necessity." Other extraordinary assertions are likewise contained in his tracts, which demonstrated that Protestant writers have not misrepresented the Controversy before us. Suffice it to mention two sentences more. "The ministers of the Church do not barely declare men's sins forgiven, but do really pardon them by virtue of the Sacraments, and by the power of the keys. They may impose a punishment to

be suffered AFTER DEATH, and it is better to send a penitent with a small penance into Purgatory, than by refusing him absolution to send him into hell." Dupin b. ii. sec. k. lib. i.

The friends of Luther, in the same spirit of destruction, rejoined, by burning 800 copies of Tetzels Propositions in one of the public squares of Wittenburg. This conduct Luther had the moderation or good sense to lament; and he affirmed, that it was adopted without his knowledge. Leo X. confiding in the professions of Luther, who had declared to him, "that he would regard whatever came from him as delivered by Christ himself," took no immediate steps to curb the zeal of the Reformers, nor to remove the cause of their just complaints. Fond of elegant and refined pleasures, intent upon great schemes of policy, a stranger to theological controversies, and apt to despise them, he regarded with the utmost indifference the operations of an obscure Friar, who, in the heart of Germany, carried on a scholastic disputation in a barbarous style; little did he apprehend, or Luther himself dream, that the effects of this quarrel would be so fatal to the Papal See. Leo imputed the whole to monastic emulation, and seemed inclined not to interpose in the contest, but to allow the Augustinians and Dominicans to wrangle about the matter with their usual animosity.

The solicitations, however, of Luther's adversaries, who were exasperated to a high degree by the boldness and severity with which he animadverted on their writings, together with the surprising progress which his opinions made in different parts of Germany, roused at last the attention of the Court of Rome, and obliged Leo to take measures for the security of the Church against an attack that now appeared too serious to be despised. For this end he summoned Luther to appear at Rome, within 60 days, before the Auditor of the Chamber and the Inquisitor General, Prierias, who had written against him, whom he empowered jointly to examine his doctrines, and to decide concerning them. He wrote at the same time to the Elector of Saxony, beseeching him not to protect a man whose heretical and profane tenets were so shocking to pious ears, and enjoined the Provincial of the

Augustinians to check, by his authority, the rashness of an arrogant Monk, which brought disgrace upon the order of St. Augustine, and gave offence and disturbance to the whole Church.

From the strain of these letters, as well as from the nomination of a judge, so prejudiced and partial as Prierias, Luther easily saw what sentence he might expect at Rome, and discovered for that reason the utmost solicitude to have his cause tried in Germany, and before a less suspected tribunal. The Professors in the University of Wittemberg, anxious for the safety of a man who did so much honor to their society, wrote to the Pope, and after employing several pretexts to excuse Luther from appearing at Rome, entreated Leo to commit the examination of his doctrines to some persons of learning and authority in Germany. The Elector requested the same thing of the Pope's Legate, at the diet of Augsburg, and as Luther himself, who at that time was so far from having any intention to disclaim the Papal authority, that he did not even entertain the smallest suspicion concerning its divine original, had written to Leo a most submissive letter, promising an unreserved compliance with his will, the Pope gratified them so far as to empower his Legate in Germany, Cardinal Cadjetan, a Dominican, eminent for scholastic learning, and passionately devoted to the Roman See, to hear and determine the cause, and to summon Luther before him; and, if he should persist in his errors, to hold him in custody till further instructions should be sent from Rome. It was of small consequence to Luther, whether his cause should be heard before the prejudiced and interested Prieria at Rome, or by the equally interested Dominican Cardinal of Gaeta, in Germany. Whatever might have been the lenient principles at first cherished by the Pope, this precipitate and rash determination gave great and just cause of offence to Luther and his friends.

If Leo, discerning the signs of the times, and the great truth, that human power of every sort is in the popular opinion which confers it, and not in the arm which wields it, had stooped from the double pride of the tiara and of his Medici

same time, requesting that if he should continue to hold and defend his opinions, he might be sent to Rome, or at least banished from the Elector's dominions. Frederic, the Elector, replied in a respectful manner, to the Legate's letter, but refused to condemn Luther, before his opinions were proved to be erroneous. Every day now increased the danger to which Luther was exposed, by his intrepid zeal and perseverance; but the powers claimed by Leo X., in a Bull he had just issued, reduced him to this most difficult alternative;—either openly to acknowledge, as he had ever done, his perfect obedience to the Holy See, by submitting his judgment to the decisions of the Pope; or, at once, to renounce obedience to the Vicar of Christ, and declare open war against the whole Christian world.

To retract, would be the loss of all the credit that was gratifying and tempting to him, and that could alone rescue him from those dungeons and misery, to which the resentment of those, whose interests would suffer by Reform, was determined to consign him. Yet a chasm of horrors yawned before him, if he advanced. Several had been burnt at the stake, since he had left his cradle; and he heard the angriest denunciations around him, that he should be added to the number. His situation, at this time, was indeed, such as would have filled any other person with the most disquieting apprehensions. He could not expect that a Prince so prudent and cautious as Frederic would, on his account, set at defiance the thunders of the Church, and brave the Papal power, which had crushed some of the most powerful of the German Emperors. He knew what veneration was paid in that age, to Ecclesiastical decisions; what terrors Ecclesiastical censures carried along with them; and how easily these might intimidate and shake a Prince, who was rather his protector from policy, than his disciple from conviction. If he should be obliged to quit Saxony, he had no prospect of any other asylum, and must stand exposed to whatever punishment the rage or bigotry of his enemies could inflict. Though sensible of his danger, he discovered no symptoms of timidity or remissness, but continued to vindicate his own conduct and opinions, and to in-

weigh against those of his adversaries, with more vehemence than ever. He appealed from the judgment of the Pope, to that of a General Council, which, when legally assembled, was, he said, a power superior to that of the Pope, and could afford redress to the oppressed.

He further remarked, that the Prophet forbids us to put trust or confidence in men, even in princes, to whose judgment nothing ought less to be committed than the word of God, protesting, however, at the same time, that he had no intention to speak anything against the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, nor against the authority of the Holy See. Leo X., still unwilling, or afraid to push matters to extremities, against this unruly Son of the Church, addressed a conciliatory message to the Elector of Saxony. This was accompanied by a present, which a very short time before, would have had the most pleasing effects on the mind of the Elector: it was the consecrated Rose, which the Pontiff had been in the habit of sending annually to those princes for whom he professed a more than usual affection and regard. This sacred and honourable present came too late. The rose had lost its fragrance with the half-reformed Elector.\* And even had this not been the case, a circumstance occurred at that time, which diverted the attention of the Pope from the affairs of the Church, furnished the Elector with additional motives to continue his protection to the Reformer, and gave Luther himself time, and new means to promote the great objects of his opposition to the Court of Rome, and the authority of the Pontiff. The letters and present of the Pope, were sent by the hands of Miltitz, a Saxon Knight attached to the Papal Court, and one of Leo's chamberlains. By the same person, the Pope wrote to Pfeffinger, Counsellor of State to the Elector, requesting him to use his influence with his master, to stop the progress of the Reformation, and to imitate the piety and religious zeal of his ancestors. A similar request was made to

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descent, to praise and promote, or to soothe Luther, instead of affronting his self-love, crushing his worldly prospects, and endangering immediately his personal safety, the probability, as allowed by himself, is, that Luther would have been engaged in no further hostilities. It was his contemporaries that made him the giant and the fighter which he became; and he was himself too firm in purpose, too fierce and sturdy in temper, not to love the battle which exercised and distinguished him, instead of being intimidated by it. The persecution to which he was now exposed, he sustained with such an unsubdued intrepidity, such a firm adherence to what he chose to support, as imparted to him an intellectual greatness of character, and a distinction of moral fortitude, which justly increased his reputation. No alternative, however, now remained; and Luther having obtained, with great difficulty and delay, a safe conduct from the Emperor, repaired to Augsburg. Previously, however, to this, and after the Pope had sent his monitory to the Cardinal of Gaeta, a power had been delegated to that Cardinal to hear his defence, and, in case of penitence and submission, again to receive him to the communion of the faithful.

The Cardinal received him with decent respect, and endeavoured first to gain upon him by gentle treatment; and afterwards, relying on the superiority of his own talents as a theologian, entered into a formal dispute with Luther concerning the doctrines contained in his theses. But the weapons which they employed were so different, Cajetan appealing to Papal decrees and the opinions of schoolmen, and Luther resting entirely on the authority of Scripture, that the contest was altogether fruitless. The Cardinal relinquished the character of a disputant, and, assuming that of a judge, enjoined Luther, by virtue of the apostolic powers with which he was clothed, to retract the errors which he had uttered with regard to Indulgences, and the nature of faith; and to abstain, for the future, from the publication of new and dangerous opinions. Luther, fully persuaded of the truth of his own tenets, and confirmed in the belief of them by the approbation which he had met with among persons conspicuous both for learning

and piety, was surprised at this abrupt mention of a recantation, before any endeavours were used to convince him that he was mistaken. He had flattered himself, that, in a conference concerning the points in dispute with a Prelate of such distinguished abilities, he should be able to remove many of those imputations with which the ignorance or malice of his antagonists had loaded him; but the high tone of authority which the Cardinal assumed extinguished at once all hopes of this kind, and cut off every prospect of advantage from the interview. His native intrepidity of mind, however, did not desert him. He declared with the utmost firmness, that he could not, with a safe conscience, renounce opinions which he believed to be true; nor should any consideration ever induce him to do what would be so base in itself, and so offensive to God. At the same time he continued to express no less reverence than formerly for the authority of the Apostolic See; he signified his willingness to submit the whole controversy to certain Universities which he named, and promised neither to write nor to preach concerning Indulgences for the future, provided his adversaries were likewise enjoined to be silent with respect to them. All these offers Cajetan disregarded or rejected, and still insisted peremptorily on a simple recantation, threatening him with ecclesiastical censures, and forbidding him to appear again in his presence, unless he resolved instantly to comply with what he had required.

Luther, after different meetings, was permitted to depart; when his friends, judging from the bold manner of his proceeding, and the well-known authority of his adversaries, that it would not be prudent for him to remain any longer in danger, advised a secret flight from Augsburg. Prior, however, to his departure, he published a solemn appeal to the Supreme Pontiff, prejudiced and misled, to the same Pontiff, when better informed. The abrupt departure of Luther from Augsburg, on the 19th of October, 1518, naturally awakened the resentment of the Cardinal, and he immediately addressed a Letter to the Elector of Saxony, to whose protection Luther fled, expressing his surprise and indignation at his conduct; at the



same time, requesting that if he should continue to hold and defend his opinions, he might be sent to Rome, or at least banished from the Elector's dominions. Frederic, the Elector, replied in a respectful manner, to the Legate's letter, but refused to condemn Luther, before his opinions were proved to be erroneous. Every day now increased the danger to which Luther was exposed, by his intrepid zeal and perseverance; but the powers claimed by Leo X., in a Bull he had just issued, reduced him to this most difficult alternative;—either openly to acknowledge, as he had ever done, his perfect obedience to the Holy See, by submitting his judgment to the decisions of the Pope; or, at once, to renounce obedience to the Vicar of Christ, and declare open war against the whole Christian world.

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Spalino, Secretary of State to the Elector. These letters are dated early in January, 1519; but before Miltitz arrived with them in Germany, the Emperor Maximilian died, and his death, for a time, changed the face of affairs.

During the INTERREGNUM, the Prince Elector, Duke of Saxony, as Vicar of the Empire, possessed sufficient power to protect and cherish Lutheranism in its infancy. "The violent tempest," says Luther, "subsided by little and little, and the Pontifical thunders of excommunication, were gradually more and more despised." The resolutions of Frederic were not a little confirmed by a letter, which he received in the Spring of 1519, from the learned Erasmus.

This circumstance somewhat delayed the negotiations of Miltitz; yet in the course of the year a conference was had with Luther at Altenburg; and this prudent and sensible minister, so far succeeded with him, by playing off upon his vanity, and by solemnly and earnestly reprobating the wicked conduct of Tetzels, that our hitherto inflexible Reformer consented to write a submissive letter to Leo X., and once more promised to be silent respecting Indulgences, provided that the same obligation should be imposed upon his adversaries.

In proposing a compromise of silence on both sides, in the affair of Indulgences, he may be thought to have acted inconsistently with his former declarations, and to have conceded too much to the Hierarchy, but the answer is, he had already manfully resisted the Roman See in that abominable traffic, and he began to hesitate how far it was HIS proper business to proceed further in a matter of that sort; in a word, his conscience was at present puzzled respecting the EXTENT of the obedience which he owed to the Rulers, whose authority he then allowed; harassed with doubts, and perfectly aware of the danger that threatened him, he would have given the world for a sound and discreet Counsellor; of the danger, he sought no partner; but, alas, his best and wisest friends when pressed closely concerning the most critical and perilous part of the conflict, absolutely stood aloof.

Had the Court of Rome been prudent enough to have accepted of the submission made by Luther, they would

almost have nipped in the bud the cause of the Reformation, or would, at least, have considerably retarded its growth and progress. Having gained over the head, the members would, with greater facility, have been reduced to obedience. But the flaming and excessive zeal of some inconsiderate bigots renewed, happily for the truth, the divisions, which were so near being healed; and by animating both Luther and his followers to look deeper into the enormities that prevailed in the Papal Hierarchy, promoted the principles, and augmented the spirit, which produced, at length, the Blessed Reformation.

Previously, however, to writing this obedient letter, Luther wrote one to Miltitz, in which he censures, in somewhat severe terms, the conduct even of the Pope himself, who had given the Archbishop of Mentz, a dispensation to hold several bishoprics, by which he had so nourished his ambition and avarice, that a kind of necessity had been imposed upon him, to abuse the promulgation of Indulgences, in order to raise money for the numerous expences to which he had exposed himself. Luther also charged the Pope with being under undue influence to the Florentines, particularly to his own family of the Medici, who were accused of great covetousness, pride, and ambition. About this period, Andrew Bodenstein, called by himself Carlostadt, from the place of his birth, having embraced the opinions of Luther, published a thesis in their defence. This called forth the learning and powerful abilities of Eccius. To enter into a detail of the disputes at Leipsic, between Eccius, Carlostadt, and Luther, would neither edify the reader, nor illustrate this history.\* As usual,

\* One beneficial effect of this disputation, was the complete conviction of Melancthon, of the absurdities of the Romish religion, and of the soundness of the principles of his persecuted friend. Melancthon had been among the spectators of Luther's attack on indulgences; but though he approved of a Reformation in the Church, his mild and timid disposition hath hitherto prevented him from engaging in any of these disputes. He had been appointed Professor of Greek in the University of Wittenburg, and had as yet employed his time principally in attending to the duties of that office; but this controversy with Eckins, made such an impression on his mind, that he was now determined to engage with his companion, in the important contest for Christian Liberty and

both sides claimed the victory : an indifferent observer might remark, that neither deserved it. These disputes commenced on the 25th of June, and ended on the 15th of July following.

Before they entered upon the debate, which was conducted in the Hall of the Castle at Leipsic, in the presence of George, Duke of Saxony, and a large concourse of other eminent persons, Eccius proposed to appoint suitable judges. Luther, with his characteristic boldness and impetuosity, replied, "that all the world might be the judge." The Universities of Paris and Erfurt were at length fixed upon. The questions agitated, embrace many of the opinions which still divide the Catholic and Protestant Churches ; and they were discussed in a manner, and with a spirit by no means honourable to either of the disputants, or the Universities of Paris and Erfurt. If, however, these disputes had but little effect, while they were carried on by both parties in propria-persona, when they were renewed in writing, they called forth the efforts of many learned and eminent scholars ; amongst whom were Melancthon and Erasmus, whose various publications awakened the spirit of enquiry, and forwarded, in a very powerful manner, the cause of the Reformation.\*

truth. Melancthon must therefore be considered as an eminent assistant in the work of the Reformation, for which his piety and talents rendered him eminently qualified, though his timidity sometimes led him to make concessions for the sake of peace, to which other Reformers would have refused to yield, and filled him with fears, when in reality there was no danger.

\* The reputation and authority of Erasmus, were so high in Europe at the beginning of the Sixteenth Century, and his works were read with such universal admiration, that the effect of these deserves to be mentioned as one of the circumstances which contributed towards Luther's success.

His acute judgment, and extensive erudition, enabled him to discover many errors, both in the doctrine and worship of the Romish Church ; some of these he confuted with great solidity of reasoning and force of eloquence. Others he treated as objects of ridicule, and turned against them that inimitable torrent of popular and satirical wit, of which he had the command. There was hardly any opinion or practice of the Romish Church which Luther endeavoured to reform, but what had been previously animadverted upon by Erasmus, and had afforded him subject either of censure or of raillery.

Various circumstances, however, prevented Erasmus from holding the same course with Luther. The natural timidity of his temper ; his want of that strength of mind, which alone can prompt a man to assume the character of a

Nor was the spirit of opposition to the doctrines and usurpations of the Church of Rome, confined to Saxony alone: an attack no less violent, and occasioned by the same causes, was made upon them about this time in Switzerland. The Franciscans being intrusted with the promulgation of indulgences in that country, executed their commission with the same indiscretion and rapaciousness, which had rendered the Dominicans so odious in Germany. They proceeded, nevertheless, with uninterrupted success, till they arrived at Zurich. There Zuinglius, a man not inferior to Luther himself in zeal and intrepidity, ventured to oppose them; and being animated with a republican boldness, and free from those restraints which subjection to the will of a Prince imposed on the German Reformer, he advanced with more daring and rapid steps to overturn the whole fabric of the established religion. The appearance of such a vigorous auxiliary, and the progress which he made, was at first matter of great joy to Luther. On the other hand, the decrees of the Universities of Cologne and Louvaine, which pronounced his opinions to be erroneous afforded great cause of triumph to his adversaries.

After the fruitless disputes at Leipsic, Luther returned to Wittemberg, where Miltitz renewed his efforts to reconcile Luther to the Pope and the Church, and prevailed upon him, by calling in the Society of the Augustine Monks, to which Luther belonged, to write again to the Pope, with a further and more explicit account of his conduct. Under the pretext of obedience, respect, and even affection for the Pontiff, he conveyed the most determined opposition, the most bitter

Reformer; his excessive deference to persons in high stations; his dread of losing the pensions and other emoluments, which their liberality had conferred upon him; his extreme love of peace, and hopes of reforming abuses, gradually and by gentle methods, all concurred in determining him not only to repress and to moderate the zeal with which he had once been animated against the errors of the Church, but to assume the character of a mediator between Luther and his opponents. But though Erasmus soon began to censure Luther, as too daring and impetuous, and was at last prevailed upon to write against him, he must, nevertheless, be considered as his forerunner and auxiliary in this war upon the Church. He first scattered the seeds, which Luther cherished, and brought to maturity.

satire, and the most marked contempt ; insomuch, that it is scarcely possible to conceive a composition more replete with insult and offence, than that which Luther affected to allow himself to be prevailed on to write by the representations of his own fraternity. After justifying the asperity with which he has commented on the misconduct of his adversaries, by the example of Christ, and of the Prophets and Apostles, he thus proceeds : “ I must, however, acknowledge, my total abhorrence of your See ; the Roman Court, which neither you nor any man can deny, is more corrupt than either Babylon or Sodom, and according to the best of my information, is sunk into the most deplorable and notorious impiety. For what has Rome poured out for these many years past, (as you well know) but the desolation of all things, both of body and soul, and the worst examples of all iniquity. It is, indeed, as clear as daylight to all mankind, that the Roman Church, formerly the most holy of all Churches, is become the most licentious den of thieves, the most shameless of all brothels, the kingdom of sin, of death, and of hell ; the wickedness of which, not Antichrist himself could conceive. The fate of the Court of Rome is decreed ; the wrath of God is upon it ; advice it detests ; Reformation it dreads ; the fury of its impiety cannot be mitigated, and it has now fulfilled that which was said of its Mother, we have medicined Babylon, and she is not healed ; let us therefore leave her. It was the office of you and your Cardinals to have applied a remedy ; but the disorder derides the hand of the physician, “*néc audit currus habenas.*”

“ Allow me, however, to caution you, my good father Leo, against those syrens who would persuade you that you are not altogether a man, but a compound of man and God, and can command and require whatever you please. This, I assure you, will be of no avail. You are the servant of servants, and, of all mankind, are seated in the most deplorable and perilous place. Be not deceived by those who pretend that you are lord of the earth, that there can be no Christian without your authority, and that you have any power in Heaven, in Hell, or in Purgatory. They are your enemies,

and seek to destroy your soul, as it was said by Esaias, O my people, they who pronounce you happy deceive you. Thus they impose upon you, who exalt you above a Council and the universal Church; and who attribute to you alone the right of interpreting the Scriptures, and endeavour, under your name, to establish their own impiety. Alas, by their means, Satan has made great gain among your predecessors."

Thus the undaunted spirit of Luther acquired additional fortitude from every instance of opposition; and pushing on his inquiries and attacks from one doctrine to another, he began to shake the firmest foundations on which the wealth or power of the Church was established. Leo came at last to be convinced, that all hopes of reclaiming him by forbearance were vain; several Prelates of great wisdom exclaimed, no less than Luther's personal adversaries, against the Pope's unprecedented lenity, in permitting an incorrigible heretic, who during three years had been endeavouring to subvert every thing sacred and venerable, still to remain within the bosom of the Church; the dignity of the Papal See rendered the most vigorous proceedings necessary; the new Emperor, it was hoped, would support its authority; nor did it seem probable, that the Elector of Saxony would so far forget his usual caution as to set himself in opposition to their united power. The college of Cardinals was often assembled, in order to prepare the sentence with due deliberation, and the ablest canonists were consulted how it might be expressed with unexceptionable formality. At last, on the fifteenth of June, 1520, the Bull, so fatal to the Church of Rome, was issued. Forty-one propositions, extracted out of Luther's works, are therein condemned as heretical, scandalous, and offensive to pious ears; all persons are forbidden to read his writings, upon pain of excommunication; such as had any of them in their custody were commanded to commit them to the flames; he himself, if he did not within sixty days publicly recant his errors, and burn his books, is pronounced an obstinate heretic; is excommunicated and delivered unto Satan for the destruction of his flesh; and all secular Princes are



required, under pain of incurring the same censure, to seize his person, that he might be punished as his crimes deserved.

The Bull then proceeds to narrate the mild and paternal behaviour of the Pontiff; and contrasts it with the pertinacious and obstinate conduct of Luther, whom the Papal Court might instantly condemn as a notorious heretic; but that, unwilling to proceed to harsh measures, Luther and his adherents are conjured in it, to return to their duty, and renounce their errors; assuring them, that if they give manifest proof of their obedience, by destroying and disavowing their writings, within six days, they should be graciously received to the bosom and protection of the Church; but that, should they persist in their errors and contumacy, after the time specified, they should be proceeded against immediately, as obstinate and perverse heretics; and receive the punishment which the law in such cases has provided. The Bull of Leo X.,\* instead of allaying the tumults, called forth all the zeal and energy of Luther, and his powerful and numerous friends. To such a pitch of exasperation did this measure raise the intrepid and daring innovator, that he threw off, in the most unequivocal manner, all forms of respect, and even decency, towards the Pope, the Councils, and the Catholic Church. Refusing to appear to the Pope's citation, he boldly exclaimed, "I defer my appearing there, until I am followed by five thousand horse, and twenty thousand foot: then will I make myself believed." No epithet of a rude and offensive nature, was spared in representing the character and conduct of the Pope and his whole court: that court, Luther declared he consi-

\* In this Bull, Leo declared, "that by the power of the keys given to Saint Peter, and to his successors, the Bishop of Rome had a right to pardon to the faithful all the guilt and punishment of their actual sins; to wit, the guilt by means of the sacrament of penance, and the temporal punishment by means of Indulgence, whether in this life or in purgatory, and that by those Indulgences he could apply to the living and the dead, the superabundance of the merits of Jesus Christ and the Saints, either by way of absolution, or by way of suffrage; so that the living and the dead, participating of those Indulgences, were delivered from the punishment, that the Divine Justice would inflict on them for their actual sins."

dered to be "desperately wicked: he detested it, he had withstood it, and should continue to withstand it, as long as he preserved anything of the Spirit of the Gospel. It was a most licentious den of thieves: Antichrist could add nothing to its impiety. What can a Pope do among such monsters of wickedness, even supposing him to be supported by three or four learned and excellent Cardinals? he is like a lamb in the midst of wolves, as a Daniel among the lions, or as an Ezekiel among scorpions."

He once more appealed to a General Council, and hesitates not to call the Supreme Pontiff, whose authority he had lately declared as inferior only to that of the Lord Jesus Christ, a tyrant, a heretic, an apostate, and Antichrist himself. He even summons the Pope and his Cardinals to repent of their sins, and renounce their errors, or he would otherwise deliver over both them and their Bull, with all their decretals, to Satan, that by the destruction of the flesh, their souls may be liberated in the coming of Our Lord.

Being now persuaded that Leo had been guilty both of impiety and injustice in his proceedings against him, he boldly declared, the Pope to be that man of sin, or Antichrist whose appearance is foretold in the New Testament; he declaimed against his tyranny and usurpations, with greater violence than ever; he exhorted all Christian Princes to shake off such an ignominious yoke; and boasted of his own happiness in being marked out as the object of Ecclesiastical indignation, because he had ventured to assert the liberty of mankind.

On the 10th of December, 1520, he caused a kind of funeral pile to be erected without the walls of Wittemberg, surrounded by scaffolds, as for a public spectacle; and when the places thus prepared were filled by the members of the University, and the inhabitants of the city, Luther made his appearance with many attendants, bringing with him several volumes, containing the decrees of Gratian, the decretals of the Popes, the constitutions, called the Extravagants, the writings of Eccius and of Emser, another of his antagonists; and, finally, a copy of the Bull of Leo X. The pile being

then set on fire, he, with his own hands, committed the books to the flames, exclaiming at the same time, "Because ye have troubled the holy of the Lord, ye shall be burnt with eternal fire."

That there might be no mistake respecting the real sentiments of these zealous Reformers, on the following day, Luther mounted the pulpit, and openly declared that the conflagration they had just seen, was a matter of small importance; that, "it would be more to the purpose, if the Pope himself, or in other words, the Papal See, were also burnt."

In less than a month after this noble and important step had been taken by the Saxon Reformer, a second Bull was issued out against him, on the 6th of January, 1521, by which he was expelled from the communion of the Church, for having insulted the majesty, and disowned the supremacy of the Roman Pontiff.

The Reformer had now changed his tone, from deprecation to defiance. Leo still continued to thunder with all the power of the Vatican; and the opposing Monk, kindling with the struggle, and committing himself fully to an irreconcilable warfare, fought his long battle fiercely, ably, and unshrinkingly. His mind became enlightened with new perceptions of divine truth: grander energies operated with him; his conscience was sincerely interested in his magnifying cause; coadjutors now started up on all sides; emulation, resentment, hope and inspiration glowed within him; and his Northern countrymen strenuously incited and supported him; till the insignificant friar, as he had truly called himself, became, at last, aggrandized to a magnitude, an influence, and a celebrity, which, on the subject of religion, no other individual since the death of Mahomet, had been able to acquire. No secular prince, however, had hitherto embraced Luther's opinions, no change in the established forms of worship had been introduced, and no encroachments had been made upon the possessions or jurisdiction of the Clergy, neither party had yet proceeded to action, and the controversy, though conducted with great heat and passion on both sides, was still carried on with its proper weapons, with theses, disputations, and

replies. A deep impression however, was made upon the minds of the people ; their reverence for ancient institutions and doctrines, was shaken, and the materials were already scattered, which kindled into the combustion that soon spread over all Germany. Students crowded from every province of the Empire, to Wittemberg ; and under Luther himself, Melancthon, Carlostadius, and other masters, then reckoned eminent, imbibed opinions which, on their return, they propagated among their countrymen, who listened to them with that fond attention, which truth, when accompanied with novelty, naturally commands.

During the course of these transactions, the Court of Rome, though under the direction of one of its ablest Pontiffs, neither formed its schemes with that profound sagacity, nor executed them with that steady perseverance, which had long rendered it the most perfect model of political wisdom to the rest of Europe. When Luther began to declaim against Indulgences, two different methods of treating him lay before the Pope ; by adopting one of which, the attempt, it is probable, might have been crushed, and by the other, it might have been rendered innocent. If Luther's first departure from the doctrines of the Church had instantly drawn upon him the weight of its censures, the dread of these might have restrained the Elector of Saxony from protecting him, might have deterred the people from listening to his Discourses, or even might have overawed Luther himself ; and his name, like that of many good men before his time, would now have been known to the world, only for his honest but ill-timed effort to correct the corruption of the Romish Church. On the other hand, if the Pope had early testified some displeasure with the vices and excesses of the friars, who had been employed in publishing Indulgences, if he had not forbidden the mentioning of controverted points, in discourses addressed to the people, if he had enjoined the disputants on both sides to be silent ; if he had been careful not to risk the credit of the Church, by defining articles which had hitherto been left undetermined ; Luther would probably have stopt short at his first discoveries ; he would not have been forced in self defence to venture

upon new ground, and the whole controversy might possibly have died away insensibly ; or being confined entirely to the schools, might have been carried on with as little detriment to the peace and unity of the Romish Church, as that which the Franciscans maintained with the Dominicans, concerning the immaculate conception, or that between the Jansenists and Jesuits, concerning the operations of grace. But Leo, by fluctuating between these opposite systems, and by embracing them alternately, defeated the effects of both, by an improper exertion of authority ; Luther was exasperated, but not restrained by a mistaken exercise of lenity ; time was given for his opinions to spread, but no progress was made towards reconciling him to the Church : and even the sentence of excommunication, which at another juncture might have been decisive, was delayed so long, that it became, at last, scarcely an object of terror.

Such a series of errors in the measures of a Court, seldom charged with mistaking its own true interest, is not more astonishing than the wisdom which appeared in Luther's conduct, though a perfect stranger to the maxims of worldly wisdom, and incapable, from the impetuosity of his temper, of observing them, he was led naturally, by the method in which he made his discoveries, to carry on his operations, in a manner which contributed more to their success, than if every step he took, had been prescribed by the most artful policy. At the time when he set himself to oppose Tetzels, he was far from intending that Reformation which he afterwards effected, and would have trembled with horror at the thoughts of what at last he gloried in accomplishing. The knowledge of truth was not poured into his mind all at once by any special revelation, he acquired it by industry and meditation, and his progress of consequence was gradual. The doctrines of Popery are so closely connected, that the exposing of one error, conducted him naturally to the detection of others ; and all the parts of that artificial fabric were so united together, that the pulling down of one, loosened the foundation of the rest, and rendered it more easy to overturn them. In confuting the *extravagant tenets* concerning Indulgences, he was obliged to

inquire into the true cause of our justification and acceptance with God. The knowledge of that discovered to him by degrees, the inutility of pilgrimages and penances; the vanity of relying on the intercession of saints; the impiety of worshipping them; the abuses of auricular confession, and the imaginary existence of Purgatory. The detection of so many errors led him, of course, to consider the character of the Clergy who taught them, and their exorbitant wealth: the severe injunction of celibacy, together with the intolerable rigour of monastic vows, appeared to him the great sources of their corruption. From thence, it was but one step to call in question the divine original of the Papal Power, which authorized and supported such a system of errors. As the unavoidable result of the whole, he disclaimed the infallibility of the Pope, the decisions of Schoolmen, or any other human authority, and appealed to the word of God, as the only standard of theological truth: to this gradual progress, Luther owed his success. His hearers were not shocked at first by any proposition too repugnant to their ancient prejudices, or too remote from established opinions. They were conducted insensibly from one doctrine to another; their faith and conviction were able to keep pace with his discoveries. To the same cause was owing, the inattention and even indifference with which Leo viewed Luther's first proceedings. A direct or violent attack upon the authority of the Church, would at once have drawn upon Luther, the whole weight of its vengeance; but as this was far from his thoughts, as he continued long to profess great respect to the Pope, and made repeated offers of submission to his decisions, there seemed to be no reason for apprehending that he would prove the author of any desperate revolt, and he was forced to proceed step by step in undermining the Constitution of the Church, until the remedy applied at last, came too late to produce any effect.

## CHAPTER IV.

## DIET OF WORMS.

EVERY one must allow to Luther the merit of uncommon fortitude, zeal, and constancy. This was manifested in a conspicuous manner at the Diet of Worms, which was assembled early in the year 1521, by the Emperor, Charles V. To this assembly Luther was summoned to appear; and he did not hesitate promptly to obey the summons, declaring to his friends, who were alarmed for his safety, should he comply, that were he sure to encounter there as many devils as there were tiles on the houses, he would not disobey the call. He arrived at the City of Worms, on the sixteenth of April, attended by a numerous and splendid retinue, and his reception was such as he might have reckoned a full reward of all his labours, if vanity and the love of applause had been the principles by which he was influenced. Greater crowds assembled to behold him than had appeared at the Emperor's public entry; his apartments were daily filled with princes and personages of the highest rank, and he was treated with all the respect paid to those who possess the power of directing the understanding and sentiments of other men; an homage, more sincere, as well as more flattering, than any which pre-eminence in birth or condition can command.

He was conducted to the Diet on the following day, by the Marshal Count Pappenheim, who informed him that he would not be permitted to address the assembly, but must give unequivocal answers to such questions as should be put to him. Being asked whether the books published in his name, the titles whereof were recited to him, were indeed, his own publications; and also, if they were, whether he was prepared to retract what had been condemned by the Pope's Bull in them; he replied, that certainly the books were his, and that he

should never deny them ; but that with respect to retracting anything he had advanced in those books, it was a matter of such importance, that he requested a little time to consider, before he gave his answer. Accordingly, he was allowed till the following day, to deliver a verbal and decided resolution.

Encouraged by the plaudits and the advice of numerous friends, and urged on to constancy by the admiration of the populace, he again appeared before the Diet, at the time appointed. He delivered a very long and eloquent oration, in which he declared, that some of his writings being published purely for the promotion of piety and good morals, he could not be expected to condemn, what both friends and enemies allowed to be useful and innocent;—that others being directed principally against the tyranny of the Papistical doctrines, which had given such general offence, he could not retract them without betraying the cause of liberty and truth, which he had hitherto resolved to support;—but, that with respect to the third portion of his writings, which were those written directly against his various adversaries, he would confess, he might have departed from that strict line of mildness and decorum, which he ought to have observed ; and that as he made no extraordinary pretensions to sanctity, and was rather disposed to defend his doctrines than his manners, he should only reply in the words of the Saviour, “ If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil.” This was the only concession he appeared disposed to make, except, that if any of his doctrines could be proved to be opposed to the Holy Scriptures, he himself would be the first to commit them to the flames. Addressing himself immediately to the Emperor and the other princes who were present, he said, that the true doctrine, when publicly acknowledged, was at all times to be regarded as a divine blessing ; but that to reject it, would infallibly bring upon them many serious calamities.

This harangue not being deemed a satisfactory answer, it was demanded of him to say, simply and unequivocally, whether he would or would not retract his opinions and writings. Now it was, that all the native greatness and dignity of his soul became manifest, and he boldly replied in the following



terms: "Since your Majesty and the Sovereigns now present, require a simple answer, I shall reply thus, without evasion, and without vehemence. Unless I be convinced, by the testimony of Scripture, or by evident reason (for I cannot rely on the authority of the Pope and Councils alone, since it appears they have frequently erred and contradicted each other), and unless my conscience be subdued by the word of God, I neither can nor will retract anything, seeing that to act against my own conscience, is neither safe nor honest." After which he added, in his native German, for he had previously spoken in Latin, "Hier stehe ich, ich gan nicht anders. Gott helff mir, Amen." "Here I take my stand; I can do no other; God be my help! Amen." Never, through his whole life, did Luther appear to so much advantage as on this memorable occasion. Adverting to this magnanimous reply, a short time before his death, he said: "Thus God gives us fortitude for the occasion; but I doubt whether I should now find myself equal to such a task."

The answer which Luther had given to the Diet, seemed to have placed the matter beyond all further dispute, and that nothing remained, but to put the law against heretics, in force upon him; yet, through much persuasion, the Emperor was induced to allow him to remain three days longer at Worms, and in the meantime, several persons were permitted to use their best efforts in private, to persuade him to obedience. But every mild and lenient method proving abortive, he was commanded to depart from the city, and not to be found within the Emperor's dominions after the expiration of twenty days. Some persons even advised the Emperor to disregard the safe-conduct which had been granted, and imitating the Council of Constance, to destroy at once so dangerous a heretic; but, to the eternal honour of Charles V., he replied, "that he would not give himself occasion to blush, as the Emperor Sigismund had done in the case of John Huss." In thus nobly refusing to depart from the spirit of his religious profession, he was encouraged by Lewis, the Elector Count Palatine, who declared, that such an act would brand the German name with perpetual infamy; and added, that it was

intolerable that the empire should be for ever disgraced and reproached for not keeping the public faith, merely to gratify the resentment of a few priests. Luther left the City of Worms on the twenty-sixth day of April, 1521, accompanied by the Imperial Herald. He was met at the gate of the city, by a numerous body of his friends, from whom he received the warmest congratulations and applauses. He then proceeded on his journey to Wittenberg. On the twenty-sixth day of May, one month after his departure, the Emperor, after repeated solicitations, issued a decree of the Diet against him, in which he is represented "as the devil in the semblance of a man, and the dress of a monk;" and all the subjects of the imperial dominions, are required to seize upon him and his adherents, to destroy their property, and burn their books and writings; and all printers are forbid to publish any of their works, without the consent of the Ordinary. Luther, however, escaped the rage of his enemies, by a very fortunate and unlooked-for circumstance. Passing through a wood on his way to Wittenberg, with but a small band of attendants, he was seized by several persons in masks, employed by the Elector of Saxony, and forcibly carried to the Castle of Wartburg, where he remained in privacy the space of nine or ten months. This master-piece of policy and humanity in Frederick, was attended by several beneficial effects.

While Luther remained in this concealment, he commenced a work, that tended more to overturn the vast fabric of Papal tyranny, than the whole of his other writings together. This was the translation of the Bible into the German language. He first published the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, then the Epistle to the Romans, and the other books in succession, till the whole New Testament was circulated by the month of September, 1522. He then commenced a version of the Old Testament, in which he was assisted by Melancthon, Pomeranius, Justus, Jonas, and several other of his learned friends. This was an undertaking of no less difficulty than importance, of which he was extremely fond, and for which he was well qualified: he had a competent knowledge of the original languages; a thorough acquaintance with the style and senti-

ments of the inspired writers ; and though his compositions in Latin were rude and barbarous, he was reckoned a great master of the purity of his mother tongue, and could express himself with all the elegance of which it is capable. By his own assiduous application, together with the assistance of Melancthon, and several other of his disciples, he proceeded to the completion of these labours, which in their results proved more fatal to the Church of Rome, than all his other exertions. It was read with wonderful avidity and attention, by persons of every rank. They were astonished at discovering how contrary the precepts of the Author of our religion are, to the inventions of those priests who pretended to be his vicegerents ; and having now in their hand the rule of faith, they thought themselves qualified, by applying it, to judge of the established opinions, and to pronounce when they were conformable to the standard, or when they departed from it. The great advantage arising from Luther's translation of the Bible, encouraged the advocates for Reformation, in the other countries of Europe, to imitate his example, and to publish versions of the Scriptures, in their respective languages.

The Reformation still continued to gain ground, while Luther was shut up in the Castle of Wartburg. Not only in Upper and Lower Saxony, but throughout the greater part of Germany, multitudes revolted from the Church of Rome, and embraced the doctrines of the Reformer. The Augustinians of Wittemberg, with the approbation of the University, proceeded to alter their mode of worship, by abolishing private masses, and by giving the cup as well as the bread, to the people in the ordinance of the Lord's Supper. But Luther received about this time, a violent attack from two unexpected quarters, which seemed to check the Reformation from spreading in other countries. The one was from the University of Paris, which published a decree, condemning his opinions as erroneous and heretical ; and the other from Henry VIII. of England, who wrote a Treatise on the Seven Sacraments of the Church of Rome, in answer to Luther's " *Babylonish Captivity*." This Treatise, Henry, with great formality, pre

sented to the Pope, who in return rewarded him with the title of Defender of the Faith. Luther did not suffer these attacks to pass unnoticed. Notwithstanding the respectability of the one, and the dignity of the other, he answered both with his accustomed boldness and severity, and so powerful were the arguments which he employed, that multitudes both in France and England, were led to renounce the errors of Popery.

Luther left his place of retreat on the 4th of March, 1522, without the consent or knowledge of the Elector. One of the principal causes which led him to take this step with such haste, was the information he received of the conduct of Carlostadius, one of his disciples, who, animated with the same zeal, but possessed of less prudence and moderation than his master, began to propagate wild and dangerous opinions, chiefly among the lower people. Encouraged by his exhortations, they rose in several villages of Saxony, broke into the Churches with tumultuary violence, and threw down and destroyed the images with which they were adorned. These irregular and outrageous proceedings, were so repugnant to all the Elector's cautious maxims, that if they had not received a timely check, they could hardly have failed of alienating from the Reformers, a prince, no less jealous of his own authority, than afraid of giving offence to the Emperor, and other patrons of the ancient opinions. Luther, sensible of the danger, immediately quitted his retreat, without waiting for Frederick's permission, and returned to Wittenberg. Happily for the Reformation, the veneration for his person and authority was still so great, that his appearance alone suppressed that spirit of extravagance, which began to seize his party. Carlostadius, and his fanatical followers, struck dumb by his rebukes, submitted at once, and declared that they heard the voice of an angel, not of a man.

Before Luther had quitted his Patmos, he had been warned not to leave his asylum, in the then dangerous circumstances by which he was surrounded. But neither the affectionate caution of his friends, nor the cruel threats of his enemies, could induce the Saxon Reformer to depart in the smallest degree, from what he thought a well-marked line of duty ; he

wrote in substance, as follows, " that the accounts of what had passed at Wittemberg, had also reduced him to a state of despair. That every thing he had as yet suffered, was comparatively mere jests and boy's play ; he could not enough lament or express his disapprobation of those tumultuous proceedings, the Gospel was in imminent danger of being disgraced from this cause, that in regard to himself, he wished the Elector to understand most distinctly, that **ALL HIS HOPE AND CONFIDENCE** depended most entirely on the justice of his cause. The Gospel which he defended, and propagated, was by no means a device of his own, but a heavenly gift from Jesus Christ our Lord, and he therefore was a servant of Christ, and a teacher of the Gospel, and that in future he intended to go by no other name. Hitherto continued he, " I have offered myself for public examination and inquiry ; not indeed from any necessity, but because I had hoped, that so much humility on my part, might be an inducement to others, to listen to the truth. But now that I see plainly this extreme moderation, is by Satanic art, turned to the advantage of the Gospel, I mean no longer to concede in the manner I have done during the last year ; not, however, through fear of danger, but from respect for my prince. When I entered **WORMS**, I dreaded not the innumerable powers of hell ; and, surely, this hostile Duke George of Leipsic, is not equal in strength or skill, to a single infernal spirit : moreover, the faithful derive from the Gospel, such a fund of courage and comfort, that they are allowed to invoke God as their Father. Well, therefore, may I despise the vengeance of this enraged Duke : indeed, were the City of Leipsic itself, in the same condition that Wittemberg is, I would not hesitate to go there, though I were assured that for nine days together, the Heavens would pour down Duke Georges, every one of them being many times more cruel than the present Duke of that name. As it has pleased God to permit this same Duke George to treat Jesus Christ with the utmost indignity, it was, doubtless, my duty to submit ; nay, I have prayed for him often, and will again pray for him, though I am persuaded he would kill me with a single word, if it were in his power. I write these

things, that your Highness may know, how I consider myself, in returning to Wittemberg, to be under a far more powerful protection than any which the Elector of Saxony can afford me : to be plain, I do not wish to be protected by your Highness ; it never entered my mind to request your defence of my person ; nay, it is my decided judgment that, on the contrary, your Highness will rather receive support and protection from the prayers of Luther, and the good cause in which he is embarked. It is a cause which does not call for the help of the sword : God, himself, will take care of it, without human aid. I positively declare, that if I knew your Highness intended to defend me by force, I would not now return to Wittemberg. This is a case where God alone should direct, and men stand still and wait the event without anxiety, and that man will be found to defend both himself and others the most bravely, who has the firmest confidence in God. Your Highness has but a very feeble reliance on God, and for that reason, I cannot think of resting my defence and hopes of deliverance on you. Still you wish to know WHAT YOUR DUTY IS IN THIS BUSINESS ? and you express a fear, that you may not have been sufficiently active : my answer is, you have already done TOO MUCH, and that at present you ought to do nothing. God does not allow, that either your Highness or myself, should defend the cause of truth by force ; if you do but believe this, you will be quite safe, but if not, my faith on this head will remain unshaken, and I shall be compelled to leave you, a prey to that anxiety which will attend your incredulity. If I should be taken, or even put to death, you must stand excused, even in the judgment of my best friends, because I have not followed your advice. Think not of opposing the Emperor by force, permit him to do what he pleases with the lives and properties of your subjects. It seems impossible, however, that he should require you to be my executioner, when all the world knows the privileges which belong to the place of my nativity. But if so unreasonable a demand be made, and your Highness would make me acquainted with the fact, I will engage, whether you do or do not believe me, that no harm shall happen to your Highness on my account,

either in body, mind, or estate. Be assured, this business is decided in the Councils of Heaven, in a very different manner from what it is by the Regency at Nuremberg, and we shall shortly see, that those who now dream they have absolutely devoured the Gospel, have not as yet even begun their imaginary feast. There is another being, abundantly more powerful than Duke George, with whom I have to do ; this Being knows me perfectly well, and I trust I have a little knowledge of HIM. If your Illustrious Highness could but believe this, you would see the Glory of God. But you remain in darkness, through your unbelief. Glory and praise be to God for evermore."

So extraordinary a letter has rarely been framed by a subject, and transmitted to a kind prince, whose directions he was at that moment positively disobeying : but Luther saw a DIVINE HAND in this whole struggle for Christian liberty. As to Frederic, we see him trembling for the safety of Luther, and uneasy in his conscience, lest he should desert the cause of God. What this wise prince would have done, in case Charles V. had seriously demanded Luther's person to be given up to the Papal vengeance, it may be hard to say. His prudential maxims constantly led him to evade such a crisis, if possible ; and as he was well acquainted with the activity and also the energy of Luther's disposition, nothing could be more natural than for him, through the medium of his confidential friends and agents, to have said, "remain in your asylum for the present, you are under a sentence of condemnation, and you had better not provoke your enemies to execute it. The Duke George, who lives at Leipsic, is your inveterate enemy, and it seems you have heard of the severe edict of Nuremberg. It is not in my power to defend you, beyond a certain point : moreover, were I disposed to use force, I might lose my life and property, in contending with a Potentate so powerful as the Emperor of Germany ; still, I would not shrink from my duty. Tell me, plainly, what you think I ought to do ; perhaps I have been too timid in this momentous affair."

The preceding letter of Luther, must evidently appear to

have been written in reply to such previous admonitions and observations as these, even though the greater part of them were not actually found among the several documents already before the reader.

The Elector, upon receiving this answer, was astonished at the intrepidity of the Reformer, and no doubt concluded, that, on his own part, the most consummate care and caution were never more called for, than at the present juncture, for the purpose of tempering the impetuosity and fervor of the determinations of the man, whom, however, it was impossible he should not both admire and love; he, therefore, did not choose to communicate in writing, his sentiments to Luther himself, but directed a trusty agent, Jerome Schurff, to say and do every thing which he wished to have said and done, in this delicate business. Accordingly, Schurff visited Luther, and after assuring him of the kindness and goodwill of the Elector, informed him, it was his Highnesses desire, that he should compose a letter to him, in a somewhat different style from the former, that he might shew it to his friends, and to the princes, and to the other great men of the country. In this letter, he was to give the reasons which had induced him to return to Wittemberg, and he might openly avow, that he had taken this step without the orders of his prince; at the same time, he ought to make a decent declaration, that he certainly intended to put no person whatever to inconvenience.

The letter stands in the Latin Edition of Luther's Works, without alteration, and is in substance to this effect.

“ Most Illustrious Prince, and most Kind Master,

I have very diligently considered, that in returning to Wittemberg, without the permission of your Clemency, and even without so much as asking that permission, it was my bounden duty to take care that this step should in no way prove injurious to your Clemency; for I am well aware, that with some appearance of truth, my conduct is capable of being represented as causing a multitude of dangers and difficulties to your person, to your government, and to your subjects, and more especially to myself; being one,



who has reason every hour to expect a violent death from the Imperial Edicts, and the Papal Thunders; however, what can I do, the most urgent reason compels me to this step; the divine will is plain, and leaves me no choice; I must not act a double part, to please any creature in existence; then be it so; come what will, I return to Wittemberg, in the name of Jesus Christ, who is the Lord of life and death.

That your Clemency may not be ignorant of the just grounds of my conduct, I have determined to state faithfully, the principal motives which have influenced my mind in this business.

1. My first motive is, I am called back by the Letters of the Church and People of Wittemberg, and this with much solicitation and entreaty. Now, since there is no denying that the Reformation which has already taken place in that Church, has been effected through my instrumentality, and since I cannot but own myself to be in an especial manner, the Minister of the Church to which God hath called me; it was impossible for me to refuse a prompt compliance with their request, unless I intended to renounce altogether, that labor and fidelity which belong to true Christian charity, and love of souls.

2. During my absence from Wittemberg, Satan hath made such inroads among my flock, and raised such commotions, as it is not in my power to repress by mere writing; MY PRESENCE among my people is absolutely necessary. I must live with them, I must talk to them, I must hear them speak, they must see my mode of proceeding; I must guide them, and do them all the good I can; they are my children in Christ, and my conscience will not permit me to be absent from them any longer, though I should offend your Clemency, or bring upon myself the indignation of the whole world: the pressing necessity of the Church ought, in my judgment, to take place of every other consideration.

3. A third motive is, I am much distressed by a well-grounded apprehension, that some great and violent sedition will arise in Germany, and make that country undergo grievous punishments, for its contempt and ingratitude towards a kind providence.

However, since God, through his Prophet Ezekiel, requires us to oppose ourselves as a wall for the people, I have judged it needful to obey the divine command, and in concert with my friends, to take this matter into our most serious consideration, and to do every thing which we possibly can in the way of instruction, admonition, and exhortation, to avert, or at least, delay for some time, the heavy wrath of God. All I can do, MAY be in vain, and my enemies may ridicule my attempt, it will nevertheless be my bounden duty, to do every thing which may tend to promote the laudable end I have in view, for I may venture to add with great truth, and I wish your Clemency to be assured of the fact, THAT THE DECISIONS IN THE COUNCILS OF HEAVEN, ARE VERY DIFFERENT FROM THOSE WHICH ARE PRONOUNCED IN THE IMPERIAL REGENCY AT NUREMBERG, and we shall soon see that those who now dream they have absolutely devoured the Gospel, have not as yet even begun their imaginary feast.

4. I could enumerate many other reasons, upon some of which, however, I do not lay any great stress, because I have not thoroughly considered them. It is enough for me, that the Gospel is oppressed, and begins to labour; this single consideration has too much force in it, for me to neglect my duty, out of regard for any mortal being whatever.

I humbly, therefore, beseech your Clemency, for these reasons, to take in good part my return to Wittemberg, without your Clemency's knowledge, without having asked leave, and without orders. Your Clemency is the Lord of my poor frail body and little fortunes, but Christ is the Lord of the Souls which he hath put under my care, and Christ also hath given me a spirit for the work; by no means, therefore, must I desert these souls; I trust my Lord and Master Jesus Christ will show himself more powerful than our enemies, and that he will please to defend and preserve me against all their fury, but if not, may his good will be done! On my account, no danger, no adversity shall happen to your Clemency; and this promise, I dare engage to fulfil."

MARTIN LUTHER.

Wittemberg, March 14th, 1522.

Luther on his return to Wittenberg, resumed his important office of preaching ; he had to inform the judgment and calm the passions of a distracted multitude. Few persons, however, have been better qualified for the arduous task ; he possessed in a very high degree, the requisites which the most approved instructors in the art of eloquence have wished their pupils to either be endowed with by nature, or to acquire by diligence ; there prevailed, almost universally, a fixed opinion of his unexampled integrity, and of his extraordinary knowledge of the Scriptures ; his great skill in the German language has been mentioned before, to all of which, if we add, the immense importance of the subjects he had to handle, and his affectionate manner of addressing his countrymen, we may cease to wonder that Luther's Discourses from the Pulpit, should have produced that happy restoration of peace and good order, which, quickly after his arrival at Wittenberg, are known to have taken place both in the Town and the University.

Previous to Luther leaving the Castle of Wartburg, Leo X. was cut off by death, and Adrian VI. raised to the Papal Chair, on the 9th of January, 1522. His election gave much offence to the people of Rome, who expected to have seen a person of greater abilities advanced to that dignity, in times of such difficulty and alarm. While Adrian decidedly condemned the doctrines of the Reformation, he had no sooner taken possession of the Papacy, than with a candour which highly offended the Romish Clergy, he acknowledged that great corruptions had crept into the Church, which it was his resolution to reform. "Many abominable things," said he, "have been committed in this Holy Chair, for a long time past, especially in Spiritual things ; indeed, every thing is changed to the worse."

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## CHAPTER V.

## DIET OF NUREMBERG.

THE Emperor had appointed a Diet to be held at Nuremberg, in November, 1522, but being prevented from attending in person, his brother Ferdinand officiated in his stead. One of the first measures of the new Pontiff, was to send Francis Cheregato as his Legate to the Imperial Diet assembled at Nuremberg, with a Diploma or Brieve, as it is called, addressed to the German Princes. The Brieve is full of the most virulent invectives against Luther; who, the Pope said, “ notwithstanding the sentence of Leo X. which was ordered by the Edict of Worms to be executed without delay, continued to teach the same errors, and by his fresh publications daily to corrupt the morals of the people. The contagion of his poisoned tongued, like a pestilence, pervaded the country to a prodigious extent; and what was the worst part of the mischief, he was supported not only by the vulgar, but by several persons of distinction, who had begun to shake off their obedience to the Clergy, plunder them of their property, and raise civil commotions. The Pope had hoped that a venomous plant of this sort, could not have grown in Germany; whereas, he complained it had taken root, and shot forth large boughs, through the negligence of those who ought to have prevented the evil. Surely, it was a most unaccountable thing, that so large and so religious a nation, should be seduced by a single pitiful Friar, who had apostatized from the way which Our Lord, and his Apostles, and the Martyrs, and so many illustrious persons, and among the rest, the ancestors of the German Princes, had all followed to the very present time: “ What!” said he, “ is Luther alone possessed of wisdom, and of the Holy Spirit? Has the Church been in ignorance, till Luther afforded us this new light! Ridiculous!

Be assured, ye Princes of Germany, this Lutheran patronage of Evangelical Liberty, is a mere pretence. Already, you must have discovered it to have been a cloak for robbery and violence, and you cannot doubt that those who have torn and burnt the sacred Canons, and the Decrees of Councils and Popes, will have no respect for the laws of the Empire. They have shaken off their obedience to Bishops and Priests ; they will not spare the persons, houses, and goods of the laity.

Lastly : Adrian exhorted the Diet to be unanimous in their endeavours to extinguish this devouring flame of Heresy, and bring back to a sense of their duty, the Arch-heretic, and his abettors. But if the ulcerations and extent of the cancer appeared to be such as to leave no place for mild and lenient medicaments, recourse must be had to the cautery, and the knife.

So the Almighty inflicted capital punishment on Dathan and Abiram, for their disobedience to the Priest. So PETER THE HEAD OF THE APOSTLES, denounced sudden death on Annanias and Sapphira.

So the ancestors of the German Princes at the Council of Constance, inflicted condign punishment on John Huss and Jerome of Prague, heretics, that seem to be now alive again, in the person of Luther, their great admirer.

It was below the dignity, even of a conscientious Pontiff, to admit into a Brieve, in which he was dealing out his threatenings against an obstinate heretic, any admixture of candid and ingenuous concession, respecting the prevailing ecclesiastical abuses ! In the instructions, however, given to his Nuncio, we find acknowledgments of this kind, which might even justify the most acrimonious accusations of Luther : for example ; Cheregato was first to inform the Diet, how much the Pope was troubled, on account of the progress of Lutheranism, and how necessary it was to adopt vigorous measures for its suppression, the design of this heretic was to destroy all authority and order, under the sanction of Christian liberty. His sect was the cause of robberies, quarrels and scandals. Mahomet had drawn men to his party by gratifying their sensual appetites ; Luther seduced them in a similar way, by

allowing Monks, Nuns, and lascivious Priests to marry. The Nuncio was then charged to OWN explicitly, that all this confusion was the effect of men's sins, particularly of the sins of the Clergy and Prelates; that for some years past, MANY ABUSES, ABOMINATIONS and EXCESSES, had been committed in the Court of Rome, even in the Holy See itself; that every thing had degenerated to a great degree; and that it was no wonder if the evil had passed from THE HEAD to the members, from the Popes to the Bishops, and other Ecclesiastics. "We have all," says the Pope, "every one of us turned to his own way, and for a long time none hath done good, no, not one. Let us give glory to God, and humble our souls before him; and let every individual among us, consider how great has been his own fall, and judge himself, that God may not judge us in his wrath. Nothing shall be wanting on my part, to reform the Court of Rome, whence, perhaps, all the mischief hath originated; that as this Court hath been the source of the corruptions which have thence spread among the lower orders, so from the same, a sound Reformation may proceed;" he concluded with observing, how much he had this business at heart, but that they must not wonder if ALL these abuses could not be SOON corrected; the disease was complicated and inveterate, and the cure must proceed step by step, lest by attempting to do all at once, every thing should be thrown into confusion.

In regard to the schism which Luther had made in the Church, the Pope requested the Diet to inform him what methods they themselves judged most expedient for suppressing it.

The Cardinals at Rome are said to have been much displeased at the candid concessions of Adrian, though Sleidan, on this occasion, intimates that the Pontiff's long and elaborate promises of his intentions to reform the Church, probably, amounted to no more than an artifice often employed by the Popes, to raise men's expectations, delay the calling of a General Council, and gain time for sounding the dispositions of Princes, and for taking, meanwhile, effectual purposes to secure the apostolical power and dignity. Luther appears to have

thought the same ; for he translated the Pontifical mandates into German, and added some short marginal notes, one of which, on the expression, " the cure must proceed step by step," is sufficiently sarcastic, namely : " you are to understand these words to mean, that there must be an interval of **SOME AGES** between each step."

Whatever suspicion may be excited respecting the perfect sincerity of Adrian's promises to reform the Ecclesiastical State, it is impossible to doubt the validity of his testimony, to the existence of the prevailing abuses, nor need we wish for a more complete confutation of the adulatory strains, with which interested parasites were incessantly complimenting the Roman Pontiffs. Moreover, as the life and conversation of the new Pope were, in fact, decorous and laudable, it seems but reasonable, that he should in general, have credit for his ' Declarations,' when he assured the German Diet, " that he would not have accepted the Papacy, unless it had been to meliorate the condition of the Catholic Church, to comfort the oppressed, to prefer and reward neglected men of merit and virtue, and, in fine, to do all the duties of the lawful successor of Saint Peter."

The publication of the Pope's Brieve, and his explanatory instructions to the Diet, seemed at first to have made a strong impression on a great part of that assembly, and as his Nuncio among other things, had accused the Clergy of Nuremberg of preaching impious doctrines, and insisted on their being imprisoned ; the Bishops and other Dignitaries of the Sacred Order, stood up, and with immense clamour called out, " **Luther MUST be TAKEN OFF, and the propagators of his sentiments, MUST be imprisoned.**" It soon appeared, however, that the German Princes were in no disposition, either to be soothed by the flatteries, or overawed by the menaces of the Roman Pontiff. They told the Nuncio, they believed he had been ill-informed respecting the conduct of the Preachers at Nuremberg, who, in truth, were at that moment held in high estimation by the people ; and that, therefore, if any harsh measures should be adopted against them, there would soon

be a general outcry, that a design was purposely formed to oppress the cause of truth, and this might lead to sedition and civil commotions.

In regard to the Pope's complaints concerning Luther and his sect, they said in general, that they were always ready to do their utmost to root out heresies of every kind, but that they had omitted to execute the Edict of Worms, for the most weighty and urgent reasons. It was a fact, that all ranks and orders made heavy complaints against the Court of Rome, and were now, through Luther's various discourses and writings, so well convinced of the justice of these accusations, that any attempt in the present juncture to execute by force the late damnatory sentence of the Pope and Emperor would, inevitably, be attended with the most dangerous consequences. The people would instantly interpret such a procedure, as a certain prelude to the suppression of Evangelical light and truth, and to the further maintenance of those impieties and abuses, which could no longer be borne; and thus Germany would soon be involved in tumults, rebellion and civil wars. The Princes, therefore, could not but think that a trial ought to be made of expedients less inflammatory in their nature, and better suited to the circumstances.

The members of the Diet, after praising the Pope's pious and laudable intentions, excused themselves for not executing the Edict of Worms, by alleging that the prodigious increase of Luther's followers, as well as the aversion to the Court of Rome among their other subjects, on account of its innumerable exactions, rendered such an attempt not only dangerous, but impossible; they affirmed that the grievances of Germany, which did not arise from any imaginary injuries, but from impositions no less real than intolerable, as his Holiness would learn from a Catalogue of them, which they intended to lay before him, called now for some new and efficacious remedy; and in their opinion, the only remedy adequate to the disease, or which afforded them any hopes of seeing the Church restored to soundness and vigour, was a General Council. Such a Council, therefore, they advised him, after obtaining the Emperor's consent, to assemble without delay in



one of the great cities of Germany, that all who had right to be present might deliberate with freedom, and propose their opinions with such boldness as the dangerous situation of religion at this juncture required.

The Elector of Saxony was not present at this Diet, for which the infirmities of his advanced age, and the prudence and caution he always manifested, will easily account. The Pope appears to have been, at this time, excessively out of humour with this Prince, to whom he transmitted, by Cheregato, from Nuremberg, a Brief, expressed in the most severe, imperious, and insulting language. This Brief demonstrates the prodigiously high ideas which the Popes entertained of their own dignity and consequence, and with what outrageous insolence they could express their displeasure when, like Adrian, they were unrestrained by political motives and a knowledge of mankind. The Brief itself is as follows.

“Beloved in Christ, We have borne enough, and more than enough; our predecessor admonished you to have nothing more to do with that mischievous Luther, and we hoped you would have repented.

“Our piety and paternal love for you and your subjects induced us to exhort you once more to repent, before you become reprobate silver, and the Lord refute you. And what shall we say, who hath bewitched you, you did run well, lift up your eyes beloved son and see how you are fallen.

“Is it not enough that the Christian states should have bloody contests with one another, but you also must nourish a serpent in your own bosom, who, with the poison of his tongue, a poison worse than that of hell, has destroyed so many myriads of souls? All this desertion from the Church, and all this reviling of her sacred usages, is owing to you. It is owing to you that men die in their sins, and are hurried away, unreconciled by penitence to the terrible tribunal of God. Such are your merits, I ought rather to say, what punishment do you not deserve? but the serpent deceived you; you are duly rewarded for nourishing the serpent, and for believing him; but he produces scripture—what heretic has not done the same? what diabolical blindness must it be to believe

a drunkard and a glutton, rather than the whole world and so many spiritual fathers? he tells the people that no man by fastings, prayers, or lamentations can satisfy an angry God, or redeem his sins, and that even the host in the sacrament is not an offering for sin.

“Be it that you look on him as another Elisha, or a Daniel; does not the spirit of the man appear? Is he not bitter, virulent, arrogant and abusive? does he not revile with infamous and abominable names, and blasphemies, the successor of St. Peter, and does not the Lord declare in the Book of Deuteronomy, how he will have his Priests to be honored? and does not Christ say to his preachers, ‘he that despiseth you, despiseth me.’

“Beloved in Christ, we had hoped that you would not have been among the last to return to the bosom of your mother, but we have been disappointed; you have hardened your face beyond the hardness of a rock. Luther lurks under your protection, and his poison is spreading far and wide. We entreat you, therefore, beloved son, through the bowels of our Redeemer, that before God’s anger shall consume you without remedy, you would pity and help the Church of Christ, oppressed as it now is on all sides, and chiefly by your fault; that you would pity also your country, yourself, and your deluded Saxons; if you repent not, Divine vengeance is at hand, both in this world and the world to come. Did you never read in the Scriptures of the terrible punishment inflicted on schismatics? do you know nothing of the case of Dathan, Abiram, and Korah, or of King Saul and Uzziah.

“We, therefore, command and entreat you, beloved son, to separate yourself from this Martin Luther, and take away this rock of offence, purge out the old leaven which corrupts the whole mass of your faith; beloved, imitate that St. Paul in your conversation, whom you have exceeded in persecuting the Church of God.

“If you listen to our entreaties, as we hope you will, we shall rejoice with the angels over the penitent sinner, and with delight shall carry back on our shoulders the lost sheep of the Lord’s sheep-fold.

“But if you shall say we will not walk in the good old paths, we will not hearken, the Lord’s answer is, I will bring evil upon this people, and so we denounce against you on the authority of God and the Lord Christ, whose Vicar we are, that your impenitence shall not pass unpunished in this world, and that in the next world the burning of eternal fire awaits you. Adrian the Pope, and the very religious Emperor Charles, my dear pupil and son in Christ, are both alive; you have contemptuously violated his Edict against Luther’s perfidy, and we, the Pope and Emperor, will not allow the Saxon children of our predecessors to perish through the contagion of heresies and schisms, thus protected by a schismatical and heretical Prince. Repent, or expect to feel both the Apostolic and Imperial sword of vengeance.” Labb. Con. XIV. 402.

In nothing but their ZEAL did Luther imitate either the civil or the ecclesiastical persecutors of the Protestants; he was now at open war with the Pope, his Cardinals, and his Bishops, but on his part it was entirely a war of reason and argument; from all his numerous and most severe publications not a single line has been produced where he wishes or recommends force and violence, in the smallest degree, to be used against the persons of his enemies. However, in proportion as the tempest thickened, and grew daily more dangerous, the Reformer stood in need of fresh supplies of courage and activity. His opponents were powerful, and meditated the extirpation both of the Teacher and his Disciples. Their ears were deaf to the expostulations of reason, and their hearts hardened against the cries of humanity. Wherever the barbarous Inquisitors had the civil power on their side, nothing but the apprehension of being condemned at the awful tribunal of PUBLIC OPINION, could suspend the uplifted hand of persecution. On this apprehension was grounded the invariable maxim of the Romish policy, namely, to keep the Scriptures from the people, to darken their understanding, and to implant in their minds an implicit confidence in the corrupt dogmas of their Ecclesiastical Constitution.

It was, therefore, the wisdom and the duty of Martin Luther to adopt a perfectly opposite system of conduct, and few men

have been more admirably qualified to inculcate important truths on the minds of the people. Distinct in his conceptions, eloquent in expressing them, and fearless of danger, he confounded his enemies, instructed the ignorant, and every day brought proselytes to the simplicity of the Gospel; he conversed, he preached, he wrote with almost unexampled industry, he placed the controverted points in various lights, and often overwhelmed his adversaries with the rapidity of his productions.

This determined opposition to the Hierarchy provoked the indignation of the Papal adherents, and was, no doubt, the immediate cause of many cruel and sanguinary proceedings, both of the Civil and Ecclesiastical Powers. Nothing could be more natural than that Anti-Christ should become more furious and unrelenting, as its empire diminished, and seemed hastening to destruction. The considerations of the sufferings of the godly, deeply afflicted the mind of Luther, but there was no other vengeance which he dared to inflict beyond that of exposing the unreasonableness, the ignorance, the absurdities, and the blasphemies of his enemies. He might easily have excited the leading characters among his countrymen to hostility and rebellion, and still more easily the common people to sedition and mutiny, but such conduct would have been directly inconsistent with every part of his practice, as well as every article of his creed. In obedience to the sacred injunctions, he preached submission to authority, and himself constantly exemplified his doctrine; he assailed men's understandings ONLY, and while the infatuated Papists, by multiplied and augmented severities, endeavoured to check the operation of his labours, he manfully persevered in the same course of legal and rational opposition; and though it was impossible that he should not thereby have rendered the spirit of bigotry and superstition still more malignant and outrageous; it was his uninterrupted consolation to reflect that his cause was the cause of God and his Christ, that he had wielded no weapon in the conflict but that of the Divine word, and that while his own life and the lives of his associates were every moment in the most imminent peril through the barbarous zeal of his

persecutors, he was in the meantime undermining the very principles of persecution itself, and paving the way for their total extinction.

Instead of sustaining harm, therefore, the Reformation derived much benefit from the proceedings of the Diet. Preachers were permitted to declare the truth without molestation, and magistrates to protect them without criminality. The suspension too of the Decree of the Diet of Worms made its injustice to be discerned, and the reference of the controversy to the decision of a Council shewed that the Diet had no unfavourable opinion of the doctrines of the Reformation: thus, not only had the Pope allowed that there were many abuses in the Church which needed correction, but that respected assembly, in their hundred grievances, had pointed out the very corruptions which the Reformers had all along laboured to eradicate. Adrian himself, finding how unable he was either to put a stop to the progress of the Reformation, or to prevail on the Clergy to correct those innumerable abuses which he saw and bewailed, often lamented his present situation, and wished that he had never been called from his former station of an Archbishop, where he had enjoyed a happiness to which he never could attain in the Papal chair.

Adrian died on the 14th of November, 1523, and was succeeded by Clement VII., who followed a quite different course from his predecessor. Instead of paying any regard to the remonstrances of the German Princes, he determined neither to acknowledge any errors in the Church, nor to acquiesce in their demand for a General Council. Accordingly, upon a second Diet having been assembled at Nuremberg, Clement made choice of Campeggio as his Nuncio, who, being an able and artful negotiator, was better fitted than his predecessor for effecting the Pope's purposes. Faithful to the instructions he had received from his master, Campeggio used every effort to prevail with the Diet to act with vigour against the Reformers, representing the very peace of the Church as depending on the suppression of their doctrines. The Diet, however, first demanded an answer to their hundred grievances, and the assembling of a General Council, and receiving no

satisfactory answer on either of these points, they refused, notwithstanding all the Nuncios remonstrances, to treat the Reformers with any additional severity.

The Deputies of Strasburg, who attended this Diet, complained that a great part of the Strasburg Clergy cohabited with harlots in their own houses, in the most shameful manner. "In so doing, they give great offence to the people, and also set the very worst examples; yet they proceed in this manner with the most entire impunity. There is not a single instance of any one of them being punished by the Bishop on this account. If, therefore, the senate should enforce severe sentences against those who have only broken certain regulations of the Pope's, and, at the same time, should take no notice of others who have, by many shameful practices, and particularly by their habitual intercourse with strumpets, violated the precepts of God; who," continued the Deputies, "can answer for the safety of such partial magistrates?"

To this very just representation, Campeggio only replied, that the guilt of the married Clergy was beyond dispute, and that their crimes were not less because others did wrong; neither was the Bishop who connived at the irregularities of the Clergy to be defended.

He admitted that it was a usual thing for the German Bishops to receive money from the ecclesiastics of their dioceses, as the price of being allowed to keep harlots, and they would, he said, at some time, be called to an account for this practice; but it did not thence follow that it was lawful for a Priest to marry. Nay, it was a much greater fault in a Priest to become the husband of a woman, than to keep many concubines in his house; for the married priest defends his conduct as right, whereas the other, who lives with a concubine, knows and admits that he is doing wrong; moreover, continued the Legate, it is not every one that has the gift of continency, like John the Baptist. The deputies of the senate dryly answered this unexampled effrontery in the following manner: "when the Bishop shall begin to punish the whoremongers, then the senate may be able to support him with more advantage in his lawful animadversions upon others."

The Reformation, in the meantime, continued still to spread throughout Germany, and great success attended the preaching of the Gospel in almost every district. Finding its way also into the Convents and Monasteries, many of the Monks were induced to leave these places of solitude and superstition, setting all the Papal anathemas at defiance. Nine Nuns likewise, related to noble families, effected their escape from one of these religious prisons, among whom was Catharine â Boria, whom Luther afterwards married.\* Among several other free cities, Francfort, Nuremberg, and Hamburg, openly embraced the reformed religion, and the Elector of Brandenburg, the Prince of Anhalt, and the Dukes of Lunenburg, countenanced its preachers, and encouraged its doctrines, in their respective territories.

In 1526, Frederick, Elector of Saxony, died, and was succeeded by his brother John, who, though not possessed of the same abilities, conducted the religious concerns of his dominions in a manner quite different from that of his brother and predecessor Frederic. The latter connived at, and tolerated, rather than avowed and established, the alterations introduced by Luther, and his associates. But the former no sooner found himself in possession of the sovereign authority, than he exercised it with resolution and activity, by forming new Ecclesiastical Constitutions, modelled on the principles of the great Reformer. The natural dispositions of these two princes, as well as the circumstances in which they were respectively placed, led to this difference of political procedure.

The extraordinary prudence and moderation by which Frederick had justly merited the surname of the Wise, constantly induced him to temporise with the Pope and his Car-

\* Luther's marriage with this Nun, of a noble family, was far from meeting with general approbation. Even his most devoted followers thought this step indecent, at a time when his country was involved in so many calamities, while his enemies never mentioned it with any softer appellation than that of incestuous or profane. Luther himself was sensible of the impression which it had made to his disadvantage, but being satisfied with his own conduct, he bore the censure of his friends and the reproaches of his adversaries with his usual fortitude.

dinals, and to hope for the restoration of peace and union among the dissentient parties. Educated, moreover, under the bondage of Papal mystery and Papal domination, of his own judgment he scarcely dared to stir a single step from the beaten path of implicit submission. Yet, on the other hand, the pious and tender conscience of this prince prevented him from resisting many of the bold proceedings of Luther, though manifestly levelled against the Romish corruptions. Add to this, he had a great reverence for the Holy Scriptures, and also a high opinion both of the knowledge and integrity of the Reformer in interpreting them; and hence, in various instances, he not only did not oppose, but encouraged, though with secrecy and reserve, his religious plans and propositions. Still, another circumstance of importance has not yet been mentioned. When Luther first ventured to withstand the pretensions of the Roman Hierarchy, the points in dispute were little understood; the contest was full of danger, and it required more than even the foresight of Frederick the Wise, to be able to predict the issue; whereas the battle was half won when John first assumed the reins of government. The minds of men, by study and reflection, and by numerous publications both of the controversial and of the sober, didactic kind, were become much enlightened in matters of religion. The spirit of Reformation was spreading in all directions; and though it might have been difficult for a Prince like Frederick, who, for a long time, had, in general, been in the habit of sanctioning and enforcing the ordinances of the Romish Church, to declare open hostilities against the Pope's Supremacy, his brother John, now become Elector, could feel little embarrassment of this sort. Sound policy, as well as reason and justice, would dictate to the new Sovereign the wisdom of making a stand, from the very commencement of his government, against the illegal and exorbitant pretensions of the Roman See. Happily, this prince was well qualified by nature, for the part which he had to act at this critical juncture. For though the Elector John is no where celebrated for his profound skill in the science of politics, yet his moral endowments and steady temper have procured him with posterity the illus-



trious titles of the **GOOD** and the **CONSTANT**. Accordingly, a character of this stamp could not fail to be convinced, that to temporise any longer with a corrupt and unprincipled Hierarchy might prove fatal to the good cause. An appeal had been made to the tribunal of reason, and reason had decided already in a manner which had astonished all Europe. This astonishment was, therefore, to be roused to action, and converted into a bold resistance, at a moment when submissive and palliating methods must have inevitably afforded great advantage to the enemy. In fact, there still remained, in opposition to Christian truth and liberty, an alarming combination of interested Princes and Prelates, who were supported by multitudes of their bigoted subjects and adherents, and who meditated no less than the entire annihilation of the infant Reformation. How justly may we admire and adore the goodness and wisdom of Providence, in raising up means so suitable for carrying forward and completing its sacred purposes. The zeal and constancy of John, the new Elector of Saxony, were as loudly called for, at the present crisis, as ever the extraordinary prudence and caution of his brother Frederick had been found necessary, in order to secure, only a few years before, the personal safety of Luther, and the success of his early endeavours to reform a corrupt Ecclesiastical establishment. Instead of confining his attention to its leaders, John was desirous of establishing it in every corner of his dominions. Luther and Melancthon were accordingly requested to draw up regulations for the government and worship of the Church, with which they cheerfully complied, and the Reformation was immediately established by the Elector, in Saxony. This example was soon copied by several of the other Princes, and in this manner the reformed worship, in a short time, became the religion of a great part of Germany.

It was not to be expected that the Court of Rome would view these proceedings without concern, or suffer the bounds of the Ancient Hierarchy to be thus narrowed, without any effort to check the progress of a religion, which threatened to undermine the Papal throne itself. On the contrary, Clement was inflamed with the most violent rage at the spread of the

Reformation, and entered into treaties with the Spanish and French kings, "to take up arms against the disturbers of the Roman Catholic faith; and against all who should dare to revile the sovereign Pontiff."

So embittered, indeed, was the Court of Rome against what they called the Lutheran Heresy, that in every treaty which the Pope had of late concluded with foreign powers, the absolute destruction and extirpation of all Lutherans was a specific article. For example, the ninth article of the treaty made by Clement VII. with the Emperor, after the battle of Pavia, and the capture of Francis I. runs thus: "Because religion, much more than any temporal concern, lies near the heart of the Roman Pontiff, and because the good faith of his Holiness has been called in question, the Emperor, the king of England, and the Archduke Ferdinand, engage to take up arms with all their might against all disturbers of the Catholic Faith, and against all persons who shall revile or injure the Pontiff; and further, the aforesaid princes take upon themselves to punish all such offenders against his Holiness, in the same manner as if the offences had been committed against their own persons." In the autumn of the very same year, this same Pontiff, whose thoughts he pretended were so deeply and so entirely exercised concerning the advancement and protection of pure religion, diverted Charles V. and made a treaty with England and France, the primary object of which was declared to be, that the contracting parties should effectually withstand the brutal ferocity of the Turks, and also suppress that most pestilential heresy of the Lutherans; for that there was as much danger from the latter evil as from the former; the said heresy having secretly spread itself to a great extent, and done much mischief to the Christian faith.

In the famous treaty of peace, called the treaty of Madrid, by which Francis I. recovered his liberty, it is expressly stated, that the Emperor of Germany and the King of France, are induced to make peace, that they may be able to extirpate all the enemies of the Christian religion, and, especially, the heresies of the Lutheran Sect. The Pope, they say, had often admonished, and much solicited them to attend seriously to

this important duty. It was, therefore, to satisfy his wishes that they had determined to entreat his Holiness to give directions for a General Council of the Deputies of Kings and Princes, to meet at a fixed time and place, then and there to consult on the most effectual method of carrying on the war against the Turks, and also of suppressing heresy.

How vigilant and indefatigable was this Pontiff in rousing the adversaries of religion, and endeavouring to make them active and resolute in persecuting the little flock of true Christians, wherever they could find them ! Among many of his epistolary admonitions and exhortations written for this purpose, there is one even to the parliament of Paris. He had been informed, he said, that infamous heresies had begun to creep into France ; and that the parliament had wisely interposed, by choosing commissioners for the detection and punishment of the offenders. He entirely approved, and by his authority, confirmed the steps they had taken ; it was a common concern : the mischief was general, and was to be ascribed to the malice of Satan, and the fury of his impious agents. Not only religion, but also governments, Kings, Princes and Nobles, all ranks and orders, were on the brink of destruction. It was a time when the common safety called for unanimous exertion. He promised, that on his part, no care or labour should be spared ; and it was their duty, he told them, to enter into the same views with their whole heart, and preserve their country from that calamitous infection, which infallibly attended the dissemination of this contagious heresy.

In obedience to these exhortations, at a Diet of the Empire which was appointed to be held at Spires, in June 1526, Charles ordered his Commissioners to admonish the members not to make any resolutions which were contrary to the ancient usages. He also sent secret instructions to all the Princes who were opposed to Lutheranism, exhorting them to unite in resisting these *heretics*, and promising to assist them in their endeavours to promote *the good cause*. When the Diet met, however, the steadiness of the Princes who favored the Reformation, and of the deputies who were sent by those cities which had embraced it, rendered every attempt to the passing

of any decree against either its doctrines or its ministers abortive. The meeting, therefore, separated, after coming to the following decision: "that it was highly improper to execute the sentence of the Diet of Worms against the Lutherans, till those disturbances which had agitated the Church should be settled; and that all matters concerning religion, should continue as they were at present, till the meeting of a General Council."

We may here mention, how much the beauty and excellence of pure evangelical principles showed themselves at this Diet, in the exterior conduct of the Lutheran Princes. The Landgrave of Hesse, about a week before the meeting of the Diet, represented to John Frederic, Son of the Elector, how necessary it was, that those who pretended to be advocates for Reformation of doctrine, should themselves be careful to exhibit examples of good moral conduct in their own families. He entreated the young Prince to state this matter seriously to his father; and thereby prevent debauchery and drinking, and other vices, which usually took place at such public seasons, among the domestics and servants of the great. "How dreadfully scandalous," said he, "and how injurious are such practices, to the cause of the gospel, and of the word of God! The Princes ought to set their faces most earnestly against these inveterate and impious abuses, and by so doing, they would acquire both signal advantages and honour. Nay," added he, "they must do so, unless they mean to bring on themselves the worst of evils, and even the loss of their own souls."

The Elector received the admonition like a good Christian, and enjoined his whole retinue to observe the most laudable regulations. And these good Protestants, and their families, who have been reviled by Papal historians, for breaking the Roman Catholic rules, concerning fasts, and meats, and drinks, during their residence at Spire, were, in fact, adorning their profession, by temperance, soberness, and chastity.

The decisions of the Diet of Spire, so favorable to the Reformation, were far from being agreeable to the Emperor; but he was prevented from taking any immediate measures to

counteract them, from a rupture which took place between him and the Pope. This war was highly favorable to the cause of the Reformation. Not only individuals, but whole provinces abjured their subjection to the Court of Rome, and even such Princes as did not wish openly to disown all such subjection, opposed the Reformers with little vigour, and suffered them peaceably to preach the Gospel in their respective dominions.

The war between the Emperor and the Pope, was not of long continuance; and on peace being concluded, Charles summoned another Diet to meet at Spire, on the 15th of March, 1529, for the express purpose of taking into consideration, the state of religion. The Emperor had procured a majority of Roman Catholics to attend, who resisted every effort of the reformed Princes and Deputies to obtain the edicts of the former Diets confirmed. It was, however, necessary, that the greatest delicacy should be observed in proceeding to any rigorous decisions. The minds of men, kept in perpetual agitation by a controversy carried on, during twelve years, without intermission of debate, or abatement of zeal, were now inflamed to a high degree; they were accustomed to innovations, and saw the boldest of them successful. Having not only abolished old rites, but substituted new forms in their place, they were influenced as much by attachment to the system which they had embraced, as by aversion to that which they had abandoned. Luther, himself, of a spirit not to be worn out by the length and obstinacy of the combat, or to become remiss upon success, continued the attack with as much vigour as he had begun it. His disciples, of whom many equalled him in zeal, and some surpassed him in learning, were no less capable than their master to conduct the controversy in the properest manner. Many of the Laity, some even of the Princes, trained up amidst these incessant disputations, and in the habit of listening to the arguments of the contending parties who alternately appealed to them, as judges, came to be profoundly skilled in all the questions which were agitated; and upon occasion, could shew themselves not inexperienced in any of the arts with which these theological encounters

were managed. It was obvious from all these circumstances, that any violent decision of the Diet, must have immediately precipitated matters into confusion, and have kindled, in Germany, the flames of a religious war. All, therefore, that the Archduke, and the other Commissioners appointed by the Emperor, demanded of the Diet, was, to enjoin those states of the Empire, which had hitherto obeyed the Decree issued against Luther at Worms, in the year 1524, to persevere in the observation of it, and to prohibit the other States from attempting any further innovation in religion, particularly from abolishing the Mass, before the meeting of a General Council. After much dispute, a Decree to that effect was approved of by a majority of voices.

Against this Decree, the Elector of Saxony, the Marquis of Brandenburg, the Landgrave of Hesse, the Dukes of Lunenburg, the Prince of Anhalt, together with fourteen imperial cities, entered a solemn *protest*, as being at once intolerable and unjust, in consequence of which, they received the name of PROTESTANTS, a title now not only well known over all Europe, and applied to every denomination of Christians, which has renounced Popery, but esteemed a high honour by all who have left the communion of that apostate Church.

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## CHAPTER VI.

### DIET OF AUGSBURG.

CHARLES, aware of the difficulty of suppressing a religion which was now received by the one half of Germany, wished to reconcile the Protestants, if possible, to the See of Rome by persuasion rather than by force. But, at the same time, he

promised to Clement, "that, if these gentle measures failed, he would take up arms against such stubborn enemies of the Catholic Faith." Having arrived at Bologna on the 5th November, 1529, he, on the 31st January of the succeeding year, sent his mandatory letters into Germany, for the purpose of summoning a General Diet of the empire, to be held at Augsburg, on the 8th day of April. At Bologna, on the 24th of February, his own birth-day, he was crowned with great pomp by the Pope himself; with whom he continued to reside, in the same palace, till the following month of March. During the winter months, these two mighty potentates had held many consultations concerning the state of religion in Germany, and the best methods of extirpating heresy; but their views were materially different. The Pope dreaded nothing so much as General Councils, which he represented as factious, and at best, slow in their operation. The case, he said, was desperate, and required speedy and rigorous measures; the clemency of the Emperor was ill-judged, and had, in effect, exasperated the spirit of rebellion; and it was now incumbent on him to support the Church, and crush the heretics by force. Charles, though at this time much disposed to gratify the Pope, was convinced that his German subjects were not to be trifled with; and it is not improbable that he might feel some compunction, for having lately exhibited so much unreasonable resentment in his treatment of their ambassadors at Placentia. Whether the mind of the Emperor really revolted at the iniquitous suggestion of condemning the honest Protestants unheard, and of putting an end, at once, to their political existence, it may be hard to say; certain it is, that, in the conferences with the Pope at Bologna, whatever approached, in the least degree, to moderation and impartiality, originated with Charles V., and not with Clement VII. The Pope and his whole party demonstrated, by their activity in open persecution, and by their secret manœuvres which have since transpired, that they sighed for the universal destruction of Protestantism. The emperor, in his own judgment, there is a reason to believe, deemed the convocation of a Council to be the proper expedient at this season, but having peremptorily refused to comply with the

sanguinary proposals of the Pope, he was disposed so far to humour his Holiness, as first to adopt a less offensive measure, namely, the appointment of a Diet of the Empire. A General Council was the next thing to be tried ; but it was agreed, that without the most urgent necessity, recourse should not be had to a remedy, the mere mention of which filled the mind of Clement with the most harrassing apprehensions ; and, in every event, Charles appears to have bound himself, by an unequivocal promise, to use the most efficacious endeavours for the reduction of all the rebellious adversaries of the Roman Catholic religion. Thus did the Roman Pontiff, with fire and sword in one hand, and artifice and corruption in the other, endeavour to extirpate the godly Protestants ; and meanwhile, with consummate hypocrisy, express the most ardent wishes for peace and harmony, and the restoration of Gospel principles in the Church of Christ.

Such were the sentiments with which the Emperor and the Pope regarded the appointed Diet of the Empire, about to be held at Augsburg. In his journey towards that city, Charles had many opportunities of observing the disposition of the Germans with regard to the points in controversy, and found their minds every where so much irritated and inflamed, as convinced him that nothing tending to severity or rigour ought to be attempted, until all other measures proved ineffectual. He made his public entry into Augsburg, with extraordinary pomp, and found there such a full assembly of the members of the Diet, as was suitable both to the importance of the affairs which were to come under their consideration, and to the honor of an Emperor, who, after a long absence, returned to them crowned with reputation and success. His presence seems to have communicated to all parties, an unusual spirit of moderation, and desire of peace. The Elector of Saxony would not permit Luther to accompany him to the Diet, lest he should offend the Emperor by bringing into his presence a person excommunicated by the Pope, and who had been the author of all those dissensions which now appeared so difficult to compose. At the Emperor's desire, all the Protestant Princes forbad the Divines who accompanied them, to preach



in public, during their residence at Augsburg. For the same reason, they employed Melancthon, the man of the greatest learning, as well as of the most pacific and gentle spirit among the Reformers, to draw up a confession of their faith, expressed in terms as little offensive to the Roman Catholics, as a regard for truth would permit. Melancthon, who seldom suffered the rancour of controversy to envenom his style, even in writings purely polemical, executed a task so agreeable to his natural disposition, with great moderation and address. The Creed which he composed, known by the name of the CONFESSION OF AUGSBURG, from the place where it was presented, was read publicly in the Diet. Some Popish Divines were appointed to examine it: they brought in their animadversions; a dispute ensued between them and Melancthon, seconded by some of his brethren; but though Melancthon made concessions with regard to some articles, and put the least exceptionable sense upon all, and though the Emperor himself laboured with great earnestness to reconcile the contending parties, so many marks of distinction were now established, and such insuperable barriers placed between the two Churches, that all hopes of bringing about a coalition seemed utterly desperate: and yet candid and impartial men among the Romanists, confessed, "that the Reformation of the Mass was reasonable, the liberty of meats fit to be granted, and that the demand to be discharged from so many commandments of men, was most just; but that it was a thing not to be endured, that one paltry monk should go about to reform all the world." It is added, that one of the Emperor's Secretaries, said also, "that if the Protestant preachers had good store of money, they had easily purchased of the Italians the religion that agreed most with them; but that without gold, they could never hope that their religion should ever shine forth in the world."

From the Divines, among whom his endeavours had been so unsuccessful, Charles turned to the Princes, their patrons. Nor did he find them, how desirous soever of accommodation, or willing to oblige the Emperor, more disposed than the former, to renounce their opinions. At that time, zeal for reli-

gion took possession of the minds of men, to a degree which can scarcely be conceived by those who live in an age when the passions, excited by the first manifestation of truth, and the first recovery of liberty, have in a great measure, ceased to operate. This zeal was then of such strength as to overcome attachment to their political interests, which is commonly the predominant motive among Princes. The Elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse, and other Chiefs of the Protestants, though solicited separately by the Emperor, and allured by the promise or prospect of those advantages which it was known they were solicitous to attain, refused, with a fortitude highly worthy of imitation, to abandon what they deemed the Cause of God, for the sake of any earthly acquisition.

When the Emperor perceived that all his schemes either to gain or diminish the Protestant party were ineffectual, he determined to compel them to submit to the Established Church by force. In compliance with his remonstrances, the Diet issued a decree condemning almost the whole of the Protestant doctrines, forbidding any person to protect or tolerate those who adhered to them, and enjoining a strict conformity to the Church of Rome in every point.

The severity of this Decree alarmed the Protestants, who now plainly perceived that the Emperor was resolved on their destruction.

The dread of the calamities which were now ready to fall on the Church, oppressed the feeble spirit of Melancthon, and, as if the cause had already been desperate, he gave himself up to melancholy and lamentation. But Luther, who, during the meeting of the Diet, had endeavored to confirm and animate his party by several treaties which he addressed to them, was not disconcerted and dismayed at the prospect of this new danger. He comforted Melancthon and his other desponding disciples; his exhortations made the deeper impression upon them, as they were greatly alarmed, at that time, by the account of a combination among the Popish Princes of the Empire, for the maintenance of the established religion to which Charles himself had acceded. This also convinced the Princes

that it was necessary to stand on their guard, and that their own safety, as well as the success of their cause, depended on union. Filled with this dread of the adverse party, and with these sentiments concerning the conduct proper for themselves, they assembled at Smalkalde. There they concluded a league of mutual defence against all aggressors, by which they formed the Protestant states of the Empire into one regular body, and beginning already to consider themselves as such, they resolved to apply to the Kings of France and England, and to implore them to patronize and assist their new Confederacy.

It was, in this season of fear and danger, that the grace bestowed upon Luther was calculated to shine forth with peculiar lustre, and in its true and genuine colours. By his unwearied vigilance in superintending the Reformed Churches, and by his incessant attacks on Ecclesiastical corruptions and abuses, he showed to demonstration, that great and continued successes had, in no degree, disposed him to be remiss; and he now stood forward to prove, that, notwithstanding the late untoward events, and magnitude of the impending danger, he was neither depressed by a reverse of circumstances, nor intimidated by the menaces of an arm of flesh, nor worn out by the length and obstinacy of the contention. In effect, this champion of Evangelical truth always looked on the conflict in which he was engaged, as the proper concern of Almighty God, and on himself as a mere instrument in the righteous cause. His mind, deeply impressed with this conviction, and eminently supported by the grace of God, remained serene and cheerful, and as vigorous as ever for new attacks on Antichrist, and for new combats with his unblushing advocates. He exhorted the princes never to abandon the great truths they had undertaken to support; and at the same time he comforted his dejected friends, and employed much time in private prayer. At no period of his life was the weight and influence of Martin Luther more conspicuous than in 1530, when the religious differences seemed tending to an awful crisis. His fortitude was invincible; his zeal courageous and disinterested; and, happily, they both were tempered by an extraordinary degree of

rational and fervent piety; the whole displaying the wonderful effect of the grace of the Saviour, which the Holy Spirit had shed abroad in his heart.

The Elector of Saxony, the friend of the Protestant cause, died in August, and was succeeded by his son John Frederick, who was no less attached than his father, to the doctrines of the Reformation. This event, therefore, instead of injuring, rather proved of advantage to the Reformers. Meanwhile, many circumstances convinced Charles, that this was not a juncture when the extirpation of heresy was to be attempted by violence and rigour; that, in compliance with the Pope's inclination, he had already proceeded with imprudent precipitation, and that it was more his interest to consolidate Germany into one united and vigorous body, than to divide and enfeeble it by a civil war. The Protestants, who were considerable as well by their numbers as by their zeal, had acquired additional weight and importance, by their joining in that confederacy into which the rash steps taken at Augsburg had forced them. Having now discovered their own strength, they despised the decisions of the Imperial Chamber, and being secure of foreign protection, were ready to set the head of the Empire at defiance. At the same time the peace with France was precarious, the friendship of an irresolute and interested Pontiff was not to be relied on, and Solymán, in order to repair the discredit and loss which his arms had sustained in the former campaign, was preparing to enter Austria with more numerous forces. On all these accounts, especially the last, a speedy accommodation with the malcontent princes became necessary, not only for the accomplishment of his future schemes, but for ensuring his present safety. Negotiations were accordingly carried on by his direction with the Elector of Saxony and his associates; after many delays, occasioned by their jealousy of the Emperor, and of each other, after innumerable difficulties, arising from the inflexible nature of religious tenets which cannot admit of being altered, modified, or relinquished in the same manner as points of political interest, terms of pacification were agreed upon at Nuremberg, and ratified solemnly in the diet at Ratisbon. In this treaty it was stipulated, that universal peace

should be established in Germany, until the meeting of a General Council, the convocation of which, within six months, the Emperor shall endeavour to procure; that no person shall be molested on account of religion; that a stop shall be put to all processes begun by the Imperial Chamber against Protestants, and the sentences already passed to their detriment shall be declared void. On their part the Protestants engaged to assist the Emperor with all their forces in resisting the invasion of the Turks. Thus, by their firmness in adhering to their principles, by the unanimity with which they urged all their claims, and by their dexterity in availing themselves of the Emperor's situation, the Protestants obtained terms which amounted almost to a toleration of their religion: all the concessions were made by Charles, none by them, even the favourite point of their approving his brother's election was not mentioned, and the Protestants of Germany, who had hitherto been viewed only as a religious sect, came henceforth to be considered as a political body of no small consequence.

Clement was much dissatisfied with the Emperor's proceeding at Augsburg, his concessions with regard to the speedy convocation of a Council, having more than cancelled all the merit of the severe decree against the doctrines of the Reformers. The toleration granted to the Protestants at Ratisbon, and the more explicit promise concerning a Council, with which it was accompanied, had irritated him still farther. Charles, however, partly from conviction that the meeting of a Council would be attended with salutary effects, and partly from his desire to please the Germans, having solicited the Pope, by his Ambassadors, to call that assembly without delay, and now urging the same thing in person, Clement was greatly embarrassed what reply he should make to a request which it was indecent to refuse, and dangerous to grant. He endeavoured, at first, to divert Charles from the measure; but finding him inflexible, he had recourse to artifices which he knew would delay, if not entirely defeat, the calling of that assembly. Under the plausible pretext of its being previously necessary to settle with all parties concerned, the place of the Council's *meeting*, the manner of its proceedings, the right of the per-

sons who should be admitted to vote, and the authority of their decisions, he dispatched a Nuncio, accompanied by an Ambassador from the Emperor, to the Elector of Saxony, as head of the Protestants. With regard to each of these articles, inextricable difficulties and contests arose. The Protestants demanded a Council to be held in Germany, the Pope insisted that it should meet in Italy; they contended that all points in dispute should be determined by the words of Holy Scripture alone; he considered not only the decrees of the Church, but the opinions of the Fathers and Doctors as of equal authority; they required a free Council, in which the Divines, commissioned by different Churches, should be allowed a voice; he aimed at modelling the Council in such a manner as would render it entirely dependent on his pleasure. Above all, the Protestants thought it unreasonable that they should bind themselves to submit to the decrees of a Council, before they knew on what principles these decrees were to be founded, by what persons they were to be pronounced, and what forms of proceeding they would observe. The Pope maintained it to be altogether unnecessary to call a Council, if those who demanded it did not previously declare their resolution to acquiesce in its decrees. In order to adjust such a variety of points many expedients were proposed, and the negotiation was spun out to such a length, as effectually answered Clement's purpose, of putting off the meeting of a Council, without drawing on himself the whole infamy of obstructing a measure which all Europe deemed so essential to the good of the Church.

Reserving to its proper place a detailed statement of the circumstances which led gradually to its accomplishment, we may here allude to the fact, as tending to the greater embarrassment of Clement, at this time, that the pillars of Papal despotism were now shaken in England, by an event which, at first, did not seem to promise such important consequences.

Henry VIII. a prince who, in vices and abilities, was surpassed by none, who swayed the sceptre in this age, and who in the beginning of these religious troubles, had opposed the doctrine and views of Luther with the utmost vehemence, was

the principal agent in this great revolution. Bound in the chains of matrimony to Catherine of Arragon, aunt to Charles V. but, at the same time, captivated by the charms of an illustrious virgin, whose name was Anna Boleyn, he ardently desired to be divorced from the former, that he might render lawful his passion for the latter. For this purpose, he addressed himself to the Roman Pontiff, Clement VII., in order to obtain a dissolution of his marriage with Catherine, alleging, that a principle of religion restrained him from enjoying any longer the sweets of connubial love with that Princess, as she had been previously married to his elder brother, Arthur, and as it was repugnant to the Divine Law to contract wedlock with a brother's widow. Clement was greatly perplexed upon this occasion, by apprehensions of incurring the indignation of the Emperor, in case his decision was favorable to Henry ; and, therefore, he contrived various pretexts to evade a positive answer, and exhausted all his policy and artifice to cajole and deceive the English monarch. Tired with the pretexts, apologies, vain promises, and tardy proceedings of the Romish Pontiff, Henry had recourse, for the accomplishment of his purposes, to an expedient which was suggested by the famous Thomas Cranmer, who was a secret friend to Luther and his cause, and who was afterwards raised to the See of Canterbury. This expedient was, to demand the opinions of the most learned European Universities concerning the subject of his scruples. The result of this measure was favorable to his views. The greatest part of the Universities declared the marriage with a brother's widow unlawful. Catherine was consequently divorced ; Anna, conducted by a formal marriage into the royal bed, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Clement ; and the English nation delivered from the tyranny of Rome, by Henry's renouncing the jurisdiction and supremacy of its imperious Pontiff. Soon after this, Henry was declared by the Parliament and people, supreme head on earth of the Church of England ; the monasteries were suppressed, and their revenues applied to other purposes ; and the power and authority of the Pope were abrogated and entirely overturned.

After many delays, the unsteady and irresolute Clement VII.,

at last, declared his assent to the long expected convocation. Whether he was sincere in this declaration, or, as is more probable, meant only an apparent concession to the wish of the German Diet, the occurrence of his death, in the midst of the negotiation, has left a matter of uncertainty. Alexander Farnese, to whom Clement had, in a manner, bequeathed the Pontificate, succeeded him in October, 1534, without opposition, and assumed the name of Paul III. Being descended of a Roman family, his accession was matter of great joy to the inhabitants of that city, who, during three centuries, had been ruled by strangers. Paul proceeded, or affected to proceed, on the plan of making arrangements for the convocation of a Council. But as the reformed were now too numerous to be refused access to the Council, Paul determined, as a preliminary step, to dispatch a confidential person to confer with their leading men. His Nuncio in Germany, Peter Paul Verger, a native of Istria, and a favourite of Paul's predecessor, was chosen for this commission. This person proceeded to Wittenberg to meet Luther, where, having arrived on the evening of November 6, 1535, with a splendid retinue, he was conducted to the Castle with all due honour, by the provincial Governor. The next morning Luther sent for his barber at an early hour, and told him, he was summoned to attend the Nuncio of his Holiness the Pope, and he would by no means go in dishabille, for he wished to look young, that his enemies might think he had a long time yet to live. He then put on his best suit, and a golden ornament (a present from the Elector) about his neck, and remarked, when his attendant expressed some surprize, "This is the way in which we must deal with these foxes and serpents." Then getting into a chariot which had been sent for him from the castle, accompanied by Bugenhagius Pomeranus, he said, "Here go the Pope of Germany and Cardinal Pomeranus!" Being introduced, he conversed with the Nuncio, among other things, on the subject of the Council. He said, it was not seriously proposed; the Pope did but play with them: and if it were held, it would busy itself only about trifles, such as tonsures and vestments, and not upon faith and justification, and bringing



Christians to the unity of the spirit and of doctrine, for this would not suit their purpose. He added, that he and his friends felt such assurance of what they believed, as not to need the determination of a Council, though others might do it who groaned under the oppression of men who did not themselves know what they believed. "But," said he, "call your Council; God willing, I will attend it, though I should be burned by it." Vergerio asked where he would have it held. "Where you please," he replied, "at Mantua, at Padua, at Florence, or any where else." Vergerio asked, was he willing it should be at Bologna? He inquired to whom that city then belonged, and on being told, "to the Pope," "Gracious Heaven," he exclaimed, "has the Pope seized that place too? Well, I will come even thither." The Nuncio, in a courtier-like manner, said something of the Pope's visiting Wittenberg. "Let him come," said Luther, "we shall be glad to see him." "But," said Vergerio, "would you have him come with an army or unattended?" "As he pleases," replied Luther, "we shall be ready for him either way." The Nuncio then inquired whether the ministers in Saxony were consecrated. Luther replied, "Certainly, as the Pope will not consecrate them for us, here sits a Bishop (pointing to Pomeranus) whom we have consecrated." Much more conversation, says the author of the narrative, passed between them, in which Luther fully explained his views, with the utmost freedom, and even where the case required, with sharpness of remark. On taking leave, Vergerio said, "See that you be ready for the Council." "I will come," replied Luther, "with my life in my hand." The interview was terminated, as might be expected, without any beneficial result.

Paul was no less enraged than Clement at the progress of the Reformation, and no less averse to any scheme for reforming either the doctrines of the Church, or the abuses in the Court of Rome. But having been a witness of the universal censure which Clement had incurred by his obstinacy with regard to these points, he hoped to avoid the same reproach by the seeming alacrity with which he proposed a Council; *flattering* himself, however, that such difficulties would arise

concerning the time and place of meeting, the persons who had a right to be present, and the order of their proceedings, as would effectually defeat the intention of those who demanded that assembly, without exposing himself to any imputation for refusing to call it. With this view, he dispatched Nuncios to the several courts, in order to make known his intention, and that he had fixed on Mantua, as a proper place in which to hold the Council. Such difficulties as the Pope had foreseen, immediately presented themselves, in great number. The French King did not approve of the place which Paul had chosen, as the Papal and Imperial influence would, necessarily, be too great in a town situate in that part of Italy. The King of England not only concurred with Francis in urging that objection, but refused, besides, to acknowledge any Council called in the name, and by the authority, of the the Pope. The German Protestants, having met together at Smalkalde, insisted on their original demand of a Council to be held in Germany; and pleading the Emperor's promise, as well as the agreement at Ratisbon, to that effect, declared that they would not consider an Assembly held at Mantua, as a legal or free representative of the Church. By this diversity of sentiments and views, such a field for intrigue and negotiation was opened, as made it easy for the Pope to assume the merit of being eager to assemble a Council, while, at the same time, he could put off its meeting at pleasure. The Protestants, on the other hand, suspecting his designs, and sensible of the importance which they derived from their union, renewed for ten years the league of Smalkalde, which now became stronger, and more formidable, by the accession of several new members.

While attending the meeting at Smalkalde, Luther suffered a very severe and dangerous illness, arising from a tropical complaint, which, it appears from Melancthon's letters, was aggravated by the mismanagement of a Hessian Physician. At his own earnest entreaty, therefore, he was removed from Smalkalde, on the 26th of February; and, beyond all expectation, his first day's journey homeward so relieved him, that he wrote his wife word that he felt himself "quite a new man." But he tells her, that "for eight days together he had had

neither ease nor sleep, and had rejected all nourishment. In short," he says, "I was a dead man, and had committed you and my children to God and to our kind Prince. I felt much for you, but had no hope of seeing you again. Such urgent prayers, however, were offered for me, and so many tears shed, that I am relieved." His illness produced a deep sensation among the parties assembled at Smalkálde, and when the Elector was informed of the relief he had found, he wrote immediately to him, expressing the joy, and that he had caused public thanks to be returned to Almighty God. Within the week, however, at Gotha, he suffered a relapse, and, in consequence, prepared for death. He communicated to Bugenhagius, who accompanied him, his last wishes. He told him, that he knew he had done rightly, and thanked God for what he had been led to do, in attacking the Papacy, which was the enemy of God, of Christ, and of his Gospel. He sent his remembrances to Melancthon, Jonas, and Cruciger; asking their pardon for any thing in which he might have offended them. To his wife, he desired it to be said that "it ought to be a consolation to think they had lived happily together for twelve years." He praised her dutifulness, and prayed God to reward her. He commended her and his children to the care of his friends. He sent his salutations to the deacons and the citizens of Wittemberg, acknowledging their kindness to him. He begged that the Elector and the Landgrave would not suffer themselves to be disturbed by the clamour concerning the Ecclesiastical funds, for, if they made use of part of them, this was not unlawful, considering the great expences they incurred in the cause of religion, and what was it, compared with the abuses made of them by those who raised the clamour! "Charge the Princes also, he said, in my name, confiding in God, to do boldly whatever the Holy Spirit shall direct them to, in the cause of the Gospel; the particular measures I do not prescribe to them. May the God of mercy strengthen them to persevere in the sound doctrine which they have received, and fill them with thankfulness for their deliverance from Antichrist. I have earnestly commended them to God in my prayers, and I trust he will preserve them, imper-

fect though they be, from yielding again to the Papal impiety." He subjoined some remarks on the blasphemies, hatred, and cruelty of his enemies, on which he would have written, had circumstances permitted; but there would not be wanting persons to do it, if he should die. Finally, he said, "My soul I commend to the hands of my Father and my Lord Jesus Christ, whom I have preached and confessed on earth." It pleased God, however, that, through the skill and attention of the physician, George Sturzius, who accompanied him, he recovered.

Meanwhile, the Pope continued his negotiations for convoking a General Council; and though the Protestants had expressed great dissatisfaction with his intention to fix upon Mantua, as the place of meeting, he adhered obstinately to his choice, and issued a Bull on the 2nd of June, 1536, appointing it to assemble in that city, on the 23rd of May, the year following; he nominated three Cardinals to preside in his name, enjoined all Christian Princes to countenance it by their authority, and invited the Prelates of every nation to attend in person.

The Protestants unanimously refused to acknowledge a Council, summoned in the name, and by the authority, of the Pope alone, in which he assumed the sole right of presiding, which was to be held in a city not only far distant from Germany, but subject to a Prince who was a stranger to them, and closely connected with the Court of Rome, and to which their Divines could not repair with safety, especially after their doctrines had been stigmatized in the very Bull of Convocation with the name of heresy. These and many other objections against the Council, which appeared to them unanswerable, they enumerated in a large manifesto, which they published in vindication of their conduct.

Against this the Court of Rome exclaimed, as a flagrant proof of their obstinacy and presumption; and the Pope still persisted in his resolution to hold the Council at the time, and in the place appointed. But some unexpected difficulties being started by the Duke of Mantua, both about the right of juris-

diction over the persons who resorted to the Council,\* and the security of his Capital, amidst such a concourse of strangers, the Pope, after fruitless endeavours to adjust these, first prorogued the Council for some months, and afterwards, transferring the place of meeting to Vicenza, in the Venetian territories, appointed it to assemble on the 1st May in the following year. As neither the Emperor nor the French king, who had not then come to any accommodation, would permit their subjects to repair thither, not a single Prelate appeared on the day appointed, and the Pope, that his authority might not become altogether contemptible, by so many ineffectual efforts to convoke that assembly, put off the meeting by an indefinite prorogation.

But that he might not seem to have turned his whole attention towards a reformation which he was not able to accomplish, while he neglected that which was in his own power, he deputed a certain number of Cardinals and Bishops, with full authority, to enquire into the abuses and corruptions of the Roman Court, and to propose the most effectual method of removing them. This scrutiny, undertaken with reluctance, was carried on slowly and with remissness. All defects were touched with a gentle hand, afraid of probing too deep, or of discovering too much. But even by this partial examination many irregularities were detected, and many enormities exposed to light, while the remedies which they suggested, as most proper, were either inadequate, or were never applied. The report and resolution of these Deputies, though intended to be kept secret, were transmitted by some accident into Germany; and, being immediately made public, afforded ample

\* The Pope, a very wise man, who seldom received any answer which he had not foreseen, was much amazed, and answered the Duke's messenger, that he would never have believed that his lord would have denied him that, of which never any made doubt before, namely, to be supreme judge of the Clergy; that in the Council none should be present but the Ecclesiastics, who are exempted from the secular power, both themselves and their families; "which is so clear, that the Doctors of Divinity affirm, that the very concubines of Priests are of Ecclesiastical jurisdiction."

matter for reflection, and triumph to the Protestants. On the one hand, they demonstrated the necessity of a reformation in the head as well as the members of the Church, and even pointed out many of the corruptions against which Luther and his followers had remonstrated with the greatest vehemence. They showed, on the other hand, that it was vain to expect this reformation from Ecclesiastics themselves, who, as Luther strongly expressed it, "piddled at curing warts, while they overlooked or confirmed ulcers."

Most of the points adverted to by the Pope's Commissioners, were little more than of an external kind. None of the corrupt doctrines and principles of the Church of Rome, which were the main source of its great practical errors, and against which, accordingly, Luther had especially directed the powerful artillery of his vehement declamation and irresistible Scriptural arguments, were here touched upon. Pallavicini, who yet thinks these regularly deputed reformers in some degree "visionary," and observes, that "angelic purity is not to be expected in an administration carried on by frail mortals," glories that "no charge was brought by them of false doctrine in the Church, of corruption of the sacred writings, of unjust laws, crafty policy, pretended sanctity, and the toleration of vice—points on which the Lutherans were continually barking." They complained chiefly, that flatterers had debarred the access of truth to the ears of the Pontiffs, and stretched prerogative too far, so as to tell their Holinesses that they were absolute lords of all things, and might do whatever they pleased; that hence had arisen inordinate abuses in granting spiritual privileges for money, whereas, the Pope having received all "freely," it might be expected that he should communicate it on the same terms: that by this means persons were admitted to bishoprics, who had neither learning nor probity to recommend them, and oftentimes while they were mere boys: that in conferring Ecclesiastical benefices and dignities, "the advantage of the incumbent was chiefly considered, without taking any care of the flock:" that Cardinals were improperly made Bishops, whereas, the two offices were incompatible; that of Cardinals being "constantly to attend his Holiness, and assist

him in the government of the Universal Church; that of Bishops to feed the flock which God had committed to their charge; and, moreover, that thus the Cardinals were seen running after Princes' courts to get bishoprics, which made them servile, so that they dared not speak their minds freely when occasion required; that there were a great many ill examples among those styled "the religious:" that in nunneries, where confession and other religious offices were left to the conduct of the Monks, a great deal of open and notorious lewdness was committed, and a scandalous example given to the encouragement of vice; so that the Monks must be trusted with the management of these houses no longer; that in many places, especially in Italy, sundry ungodly questions were freely bandied about, and disputed, not only in Universities, but even in Churches, which custom is very much to be blamed, and must be restrained: that the same superintendence must be exercised over printers and booksellers."

They complain, likewise, that persons in Holy Orders were frequently allowed to marry; whereas, here "rigour and restraint were the more to be insisted on, because the Lutherans allowed marriage to all persons without distinction. The sin of simony was grown so customary and reigning in the Church, that most people were not ashamed of it." They then advert to the immediate seat of the Pope and Bishop of Rome; where they censure the multitudes of mean and beggarly Priests, whose very appearance disgraced their profession; and the shameless strumpets, who were permitted to dwell in stately houses, to ride upon mules through the most public places, at noon day, and to have part of the retinue (*familiars*) of Cardinals of the first quality to wait upon them. "Truly," they declare, "we must needs say, we never saw such marks of dissoluteness and debauchery in any other town, as in that which ought to be a pattern for all the world to imitate."

All this is very important as a confession, from the most unexceptionable witnesses, of the evils which prevailed; but how different the reformation at which it feebly pointed, was from that at which Luther aimed, will be obvious to every intelligent reader of this history. The Pope's Commissioners did

but propose to remove a little of the grosser pollution from the outside, while all within might remain as impure as ever; but the Saxon reformer and his coadjutors strove, by bringing to light and applying the true principles of the Gospel of Christ, to purge the conscience from dead works to serve the living God. To name only one particular: the difference is strikingly manifest in the way in which the two parties treat the subject of confession, which comes under the notice of both. The former complain only of the gross licentiousness to which it was often made subservient; but all this might have been corrected, and the great complaint brought against it by the latter have continued in full force. Luther ever assails it as the "*carnificina animarum*," the rack of consciences, which were harassed and tortured by it beyond endurance, in exact proportion to their sensibility and strictness, while men imagined that there could be no forgiveness of sins which were not specifically confessed, and at the same time felt how small a proportion of their own failures and offences they could thus trace and acknowledge.

Nothing was to be expected from a reformation thus characterized; the tree itself must be made good before its fruit could become so; but even the little which was proposed was never attempted to be carried into execution. The Pope referred the report of his Commissioners to the consistory of Cardinals; where Schonberg, Cardinal and Archbishop of Capua, who was believed to have been deputed by the Pope for the purpose, zealously opposed all reformation; urging among other arguments, that the Lutherans would boast that they had forced the Pope into it; and also, that the very change would be a confession that the things altered had been justly reprehended by those heretics, which would prove a great abetting of their whole doctrine. Cardinal Caraffa well answered him, that it was a rule in Christian actions, that, as evil is not to be done that good may follow, so no obligatory good is to be omitted for fear that evil may ensue. Yet the result was, a resolution to proceed no further in the business.



## CHAPTER VII.

## COUNCIL OF TRENT.

AFTER the lapse of a considerable time, the Pope again found himself so pressed by such as were most devoutly attached to the See of Rome, no less than by those whose fidelity or designs he suspected, to summon a General Council, that he found it impossible to avoid any longer calling that assembly. The impatience for its meeting, and the expectations of great effects from its decisions, seemed to grow in proportion to the difficulty of obtaining it. He still adhered, however, to his original resolution of holding it in some town of Italy ; where, by the number of Ecclesiastics, retainers to his Court, and depending on his favour, and who could repair to it without difficulty or expence, he might influence, and even direct, all its proceedings. This proposition, though often rejected by the Germans, he instructed his Nuncio to the Diet, held at Spire, in the year 1542, to renew once more, and, if he found it gave no greater satisfaction than formerly, he empowered him, as a last concession, to propose, for the place of meeting, Trent, a city in the Tyrol, subject to the King of the Romans, and situated on the confines between Germany and Italy. The Catholic Princes in the Diet, after giving it as their opinion that the Council might have been held with greater advantage in Ratisbon, Cologne, or some of the great cities of the Empire, were, at length, induced to approve of the place which the Pope had named. The Protestants unanimously expressed their dissatisfaction, and protested that they would pay no regard to a Council held beyond the precincts of the Empire, called by the Pope's authority, and in which he assumed the right of presiding.

The Pope, without taking any notice of their objections, *published the Bull of Intimation*, named three Cardinals to

preside as his legates, and appointed them to repair to Trent, before the First of November; the day he had fixed for opening the Council. But if Paul had desired the meeting of a Council as sincerely as he pretended, he would not have pitched on such an improper time for calling it. Instead of that general union and tranquillity, without which the deliberations of a Council could neither be conducted with security, nor attended with authority; such a fierce war was just kindled between the Emperor and Francis, as rendered it impossible for the Ecclesiastics from many parts of Europe, to resort thither in safety. The Legates, accordingly, remained several months in Trent: but as no person appeared there, except a few Prelates from the Ecclesiastical State, the Pope, in order to avoid the ridicule and contempt which this drew upon him from the enemies of the Church, recalled them, and prorogued the Council.

Unhappily for the authority of the Papal See, at the very time that the German Protestants took every occasion of pouring contempt upon it, the Emperor and the King of the Romans found it necessary not only to connive at their conduct, but to court their favour by repeated acts of indulgence. on the Diet of Spire, held in 1542, in which they had protested in the strongest terms, against assembling a Council at Trent, Ferdinand, who depended on their aid for the defence of Hungary, not only permitted that protestation to be inserted in the records of the Diet, but renewed in their favour all the Emperor's concessions at Ratisbon, adding to them whatever they demanded for their further security.

Emboldened by so many concessions in their favour, as well as by the progress which their opinions daily made, the Princes of the league of Smalkalde took a solemn protest against the Imperial Chamber, and declined its jurisdiction for the future, because that Court had not been visited or reformed, according to the decree of Ratisbon, and continued to discover a most indecent partiality in all its proceedings. Not long after this, they ventured a step further, and protesting against the recess of a Diet held at Nuremberg, which provided for the defence of Hungary, refused to furnish their con-

tingent for that purpose, unless the Imperial Chamber were reformed, and full security were granted them in every point with regard to religion.

Such were the lengths to which the Protestants had proceeded, and such their confidence in their own power, when the Emperor returned from the Low Countries, to hold another Diet, which he had summoned to meet at Spire in 1544. The respect due to the Emperor, as well as the importance of the affairs which were to be laid before it, rendered this assembly extremely full.

All the Electors, a great number of Princes, Ecclesiastical and Secular, with the Deputies of most of the cities, were present. Charles soon perceived that this was not a time to offend the jealous spirit of the Protestants, by asserting in any high tone, the authority and doctrines of the Church, or by abridging in the smallest article, the liberty which they now enjoyed; but that on the contrary, if he expected any support from them, or wished to preserve Germany from intestine disorders, while he was engaged in a foreign war, he must soothe them by new concessions, and a more ample extension of their religious privileges. He began, accordingly, with courting the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave of Hesse, the heads of the Protestant party; and by giving up some things in their favour, and granting liberal promises with regard to others, he secured himself from any danger of opposition on their part.

Such being the favorable disposition of the Germans, Charles perceived that nothing could now obstruct his gaining all that he aimed at, but the fears and jealousies of the Protestants, which he determined to quiet by granting every thing that the utmost solicitude of these passions could desire, for the security of their religion. With this view, he consented to a recess, whereby all the rigorous Edicts hitherto issued against the Protestants were suspended; a Council, either general or national, to be assembled in Germany, was declared necessary, in order to re-establish peace in the Church; until one of these should be held, (which the Emperor undertook to bring about as soon as possible) the free and public exercise of the Protestant Religion was authorised: the Imperial Chamber

was enjoined to give no molestation to the Protestants ; and when the term for which the present Judges in that Court were elected, should expire, persons duly qualified were then to be admitted as members, without any distinction on account of religion.

The proceedings of the late Diets, were in a high degree offensive to the Court of Rome. The Pope, considering both Charles's concessions to the Protestants, and his consenting to call a Council, and to admit of public disputations in Germany, with a view to determining the doctrines in controversy, as sacrilegious encroachments upon the prerogatives of the Holy See, addressed to him a remonstrance, rather than a letter, on this subject, written in a style of such high authority, as discovered more of an intention to draw on a quarrel, than of a desire to reclaim him. He tells him, that in the discharge of his own duty, and in the love he bore to him, he could not dissemble his thoughts concerning his proceedings, which tended to the danger of his own soul, and the great disturbance of the Church. He had ever before his eyes, the example of Eli, the High Priest whom God severely punished for his too great indulgence to his sons ; the like to which might befall himself, if he suffered the Emperor, the first-born Son of the Church, thus to go astray without admonition. It behoved the Emperor to follow the uniform practice of the Church, and the custom of his forefathers, which was to refer the whole decision of all matters in debate, relating to religion, to the See of Rome ; but, so far from doing this, he had taken upon him to appoint general and national Councils, without any regard to him, who alone had the power of calling Councils, and determining the affairs of religion ; nay, not only so, he had allowed private men, and even the assertors of damned heresies, to judge in such questions, had presumed to give judgment concerning Ecclesiastical possessions, and had restored to honours and dignity, men who were out of the communion of the Church, and long ago condemned by his own Edicts. Then alluding to the Emperor's alliance with the King of England, an excommunicated heretic (which appeared to the Pope, little less portentous than that of the

French King with the Turkish Sultan) he declared his fears to be still further increased, when he considered who the persons were with whom he had contracted friendship. He refers him to the examples of scripture; Corah, Dathan, Abiram, Uzzah, and King Uzziah, from which he might learn the wrath and vengeance of God against those who usurped to themselves the offices of the High Priest. Many other instances in history, also shewed, that God had signally crowned with honor and blessings, those princes who assisted the head of the Church, and the See of Rome, and rendered that love and duty which are due to the priesthood; whereas, such as did otherwise, were afflicted with most grievous punishments. The care of the Churches was, indeed, an office most acceptable to God; but it did not belong to the Emperor, a civil governor, but to the priests, and especially to himself, to whom God had given the power of binding and loosing. He called upon him therefore, to rescind and annul, what with too much lenity, he had granted to those rebels and enemies against the See of Rome, for that otherwise, he must deal with him more severely than his custom, or his nature and inclination would lead him to do.

By a private article, not inserted in the treaty of Crespy, that it might not raise any unseasonable alarm, Charles agreed with Francis, that both should exert all their influence and power, in order to procure a General Council, to assert its authority, and to exterminate the Protestant heresy out of their dominions. This cut off all chance of assistance, which the confederates of Smalkalde might expect from the French King.

Every circumstance, however, seemed to promise the continuance of peace. The Emperor cruelly afflicted with the gout, appeared to be in no condition to undertake any enterprise where great activity was requisite, or much fatigue to be endured. The violence of his disease confined him several months in Brussels, and was the apparent cause of his putting off the execution of the great scheme which he had formed, in order to humble the Protestant party in Germany. But there were other reasons for this delay; for, however prevalent the mo-

tives were which determined him to undertake this enterprize, the nature of that great body which he was about to attack, as well as the situation of his own affairs, made it necessary to deliberate long, to proceed with caution, and not too suddenly to throw aside the veil under which he had hitherto concealed his real sentiments and schemes. He was sensible that the Protestants, conscious of their own strength, but under continual apprehensions of his designs, had all the boldness of a powerful confederacy, joined to the jealousy of a feeble faction; and were no less quicksighted to discern the first appearance of danger, than ready to take arms in order to repel it. At the same time, he still continued involved in a Turkish war; and, though in order to deliver himself from this incumbrance, he had determined to send an envoy to the Porte, with most advantageous and even submissive overtures of peace, the resolutions of that haughty court were so uncertain, that, before these were known, it would have been highly imprudent to have kindled the flames of civil war in his own dominions.

Upon this account, he appeared dissatisfied with a Bull issued by the Pope, immediately after the peace of Crespy, summoning the Council to assemble at Trent early next spring, and exhorting all Christian Princes to embrace the opportunity that the present happy interval of tranquillity afforded them, of suppressing those heresies which threatened to subvert whatever was sacred or venerable among Christians. But, after such a slight expression of dislike as was necessary in order to cover his designs, he determined to countenance the Council, which might become no inconsiderable instrument towards accomplishing his projects; and, therefore, not only appointed ambassadors to appear there in his name, but ordered the Ecclesiastics in his dominions to attend at the time mentioned.

Such were the Emperor's views, when an Imperial Diet, after several prorogations, was opened at Worms. The Protestants, who enjoyed the free exercise of their religion by a very precarious tenure, having no other security for it than the recess of the last Diet, which was to continue in force only until the meeting of a Council, wished earnestly to esta-

blish that important privilege upon some firmer basis, and hold it by a perpetual, and not a temporary title.

Ferdinand, on opening the Diet, stated that the Emperor had, with much difficulty, prevailed upon the Pope to call the Council, which they had so long, and so earnestly desired that it was now about to meet, and that both parties ought to wait for its decrees, and submit to its decisions upon all points of a religious nature.

The Popish members of the Diet received *this declaration* with great applause, and signified their entire acquiescence in every particular which it contained. The Protestants expressed great surprise at propositions which were so manifestly repugnant to the recess of the former Diet, requiring that a Diet should be instantly appointed, to which the final settlement of their religious disputes should be referred, and that, in the meantime, the decree of the former Diet, concerning religion, should be explained in a point which they deemed essential. By the recess of Spire, it was provided that they should enjoy unmolested, the public exercise of their religion, *until the meeting of a legal Council*; but as the Pope had now called a Council, to which Ferdinand had required them to submit, they began to suspect that their adversaries might take advantage of an ambiguity in the terms of the recess, and pretending that the event therein mentioned, had now taken place, might pronounce them to be no longer entitled to the same indulgence. In order to guard against this interpretation, they renewed their former remonstrances against a Council called to meet without the bounds of the Empire, summoned by the Pope's authority, and in which he assumed the right of presiding; and declared that, notwithstanding the convocation of any such illegal assembly, they still held the recess of the late Diet to be in full force.

At other junctures, when the Emperor thought it of advantage to soothe and gain the Protestants, he had devised expedients for giving them satisfaction, with regard to demands seemingly more extravagant; but his views, at present, being very different, Ferdinand, by his command, adhered inflexibly to his first propositions, and would make no concessions which

had the most remote tendency to throw discredit on the Council, or to weaken its authority. The Protestants, on their part, were no less inflexible; and after much time spent in fruitless endeavours to convince each other, they came to no agreement; nor did the presence of the Emperor, who, upon his recovery, arrived at Worms, contribute, in any degree, to render the Protestants more compliant. Fully convinced that they were maintaining the cause of God and of truth, they showed themselves superior to the allurements of interest, or the suggestions of fear; and in proportion as the Emperor redoubled his solicitations, or discovered his designs, their boldness seems to have increased; at last, they openly declared, that they would not even deign to vindicate their tenets in presence of a Council assembled, not to examine, but to condemn them, and that they would pay no regard to an assembly held under the influence of a Pope, who had already precluded himself from all title to act as a judge, by his having stigmatized their opinions with the name of heresy, and denounced against them the heaviest censures, which, in the plenitude of his usurped power, he could inflict.

Charles now perceived, that he could not hope either to procure present aid from the Protestants against the Turks, or to quiet their fears and jealousies on account of their religion. But, as his schemes were not yet ripe for execution, nor his preparations so far advanced, that he could force the compliance of the Protestants, or punish their obstinacy, he artfully concealed his own intentions. That he might augment their security, he appointed a Diet to be held at Ratisbon early next year, in order to adjust what was now left undetermined; and previous to it, he agreed that a certain number of Divines of each party should meet, in order to confer upon the points in dispute.

But how far soever this appearance of a desire to maintain the present tranquillity might have imposed upon the Protestants, the Emperor was incapable of such uniform and thorough dissimulation, as to hide altogether from their view, the dangerous designs which he was meditating against them. Herman Count de Wied, Archbishop and Elector of Cologne,



a Prelate conspicuous for his virtue and primitive simplicity of manners, though not more distinguished for learning than the other descendants of noble families who, in that age, possessed most of the great benefices in Germany, having become a proselyte to the doctrines of the Reformers, had begun, in the year 1543, with the assistance of Melancthon and Bucer, to abolish the ancient superstition in his diocese, and to introduce in its place the rites established amongst Protestants. But the Canons of his Cathedral who were not possessed with the same spirit of reformation, and who foresaw how fatal the levelling genius of the new sect would prove to their dignity and wealth, opposed, from the beginning, this unprecedented enterprise of their Archbishop, with all the zeal flowing from reverence for old institutions, heightened by concern for their own interest. This opposition, which the Archbishop considered only as a new argument to demonstrate the necessity of a reformation, neither shook his resolution, nor slackened his ardour in prosecuting his plan. The Canons, perceiving all their endeavours to check his career to be ineffectual, solemnly protested against his proceedings, and appealed for redress to the Pope and Emperor; the former as his Ecclesiastical, and the latter as his civil, superior. This appeal being laid before the Emperor, during his residence at Worms, he took the Canons of Cologne under his immediate protection; enjoined them to proceed with rigour against all who revolted from the Established Church; prohibited the Archbishop to make any innovation in his diocese, and summoned him to appear at Brussels, within thirty days, to answer the accusations which should be preferred against him.

This was immediately followed by a similar citation from the Pope, requiring Herman, with the Dean of Cologne, and five others of the Canons, who, says Sleidan, loved the Archbishop, and disapproved the deed of the rest, to appear in like manner at Rome, within sixty days, to give account of their conduct before the tribunal of his Holiness.

To the former of these citations Herman answered by sending his proctor to the Emperor at Brussels, though, by his electoral privileges, he was not obliged to make any appear-

ance out of the limits of the Empire. It seems also that the Emperor, in his way from Worms, saw him personally, and significantly reminded him that his archiepiscopal dignity depended on the will of the Pope, and that from it the Electorate was inseparable. Herman, however, was still firm, and insisted upon it that he had done no more than his duty required; and even declared that, as great numbers of his people had heard with profit, the preachers whom he had introduced, he could not in conscience remove them.

To the citation of the Pope it does not appear that he made any answer at all; while the Clergy vigorously prosecuted their appeal. In consequence, on the 16th of April, 1546, the Pope pronounced sentence of deprivation and excommunication against him, released his subjects from their allegiance, and discharged their yielding him any obedience in future. He, at the same time, appointed Adolphus Count Schaumberg his successor, a person whom the Archbishop had long before made his coadjutor, and whom he had always loved as his brother, and communicated to him whatever he did for reformation; but who was now of another opinion, either from conviction, or some other reason. The Emperor was called upon to see this decree carried into effect; but as his schemes against the Protestants were not yet fully ripe for execution, and the Archbishop refused to surrender his office, alledging that he could not do it with a safe conscience, it slept for some little time longer. But in January, 1547, the Emperor having obtained great advantages over the Protestants, and being prepared to execute the decree by force of arms, Herman, in order to save his country from becoming the scene of war and bloodshed, consented to resign, (though most of his states, except the Clergy, seemed ready to support him) and Schaumberg, on the 25th of that month, took possession of his place and dignity. Thus had Herman the honour of being the first sovereign Prince in Germany (though not the last) that lost his dignities and dominions in the cause of the blessed Reformation; and Charles gave the first specimen of the use he would make of that unlimited power at which he aspired, in deposing a venerable old man, who, twenty seven years before, had been one of those who raised him to the Imperial throne.

The deprived Archbishop retired to his native country, where he lived in privacy between five and six years. He died on the 13th of August, 1552, having attained the age of eighty years, obstinate in his heresy to the last, says Maimbourg; but Sleidan's account will doubtless be thought by the reader less prejudiced, as well as more pleasing. He had such an end, says that faithful historian, as he desired; for many times he had wished, that he might either be permitted to propagate the Gospel and reform the Church within his territories, or else to lead a private life; and being sometimes admonished by his friends, that he drew upon himself great hatred and ill will by changing his religion, he used to answer, that nothing could take him by surprise, for he had long since made up his mind for all events.

The mighty change which had taken place in him, since he was a persecutor at Paderborn, may even remind us of that which converted Saul of Tarsus into an Apostle of the Faith, which once he destroyed. His meekness is confessed even by his enemies; his humility and piety have been in many instances conspicuous, and in none more so than in the manner in which he bore his adversity, and the spectacle of an old man, whose constitutional failing had perhaps been timidity, raised to all the vigour, the exertion, and the resolution, which we have witnessed, prepared to brave all dangers, and to make the most costly sacrifices in the cause of truth and duty, is delightful to contemplate, and shews how divine grace can change and exalt the human character.

To this clear evidence of his hostile intentions against the Protestant party, Charles added other proofs still more explicit. In his hereditary dominions of the Low Countries he persecuted all who were suspected of Lutheranism, with unrelenting rigour. As soon as he arrived at Worms, he silenced the Protestant preachers in that city, but allowed an Italian Monk to inveigh against the Lutherans from the pulpit of his Chapel, and to call upon him, as he regarded the favour of God, to exterminate that pestilent heresy.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## DEATH AND CHARACTER OF LUTHER.

**WHILE** appearances of danger daily increased, and the tempest which had been so long gathering was ready to break forth in all its violence against the Protestant Church, Luther was saved, by a seasonable death, from feeling or beholding its destructive rage. Having gone, though in a declining state of health, and during a rigorous season, to his native city of Eysleben, in order to compose, by his authority, a dissension among the Counts of Mansfield, he was seized with a violent inflammation in his stomach, which, in a few days, put an end to his life, in the sixty-third year of his age. As he was raised up by Providence to be the author of one of the greatest and most interesting revolutions recorded in history, there is not any person, perhaps, whose character has been drawn with such opposite colours. In his own age, one party, struck with horror and inflamed with rage, when they saw with what a daring hand he overturned every thing which they held to be sacred, or valued as beneficial, imputed to him not only all the defects and vices of a man, but the qualities of a demon. The other, warmed with the admiration and gratitude which they thought he merited, as the restorer of light and liberty to the Christian Church, ascribed to him perfections above the perfection of humanity, and viewed all his actions with a veneration bordering on that which should be paid only to those who are guided by the immediate inspiration of Heaven. It is his own conduct, not the undistinguishing censure, or the exaggerated praises of his contemporaries, that ought to regulate our opinions concerning him. Zeal for what he regarded as truth, undaunted intrepidity to maintain his own system, abilities, both natural and acquired, to defend its principles, and unwearied industry in propagating them, are virtues which

shine so conspicuously in every part of his behaviour, that even his enemies must allow him to have possessed them in an eminent degree. To these may be added, with equal justice, such purity, and even austerity, of manners, as became one who assumed the character of a reformer; such sanctity of life, as suited the doctrine which he delivered; and such perfect disinterestedness, as affords no slight presumption of his sincerity. Superior to all selfish considerations, a stranger to the elegancies of life, and despising its pleasures, he left the honours and emoluments of the Church to his disciples, being satisfied himself, in his original office of Professor in the University, and Pastor of the town of Wittemberg, with the moderate appointments annexed to these offices.

No one can read Luther's history, the detail of his actual sayings and doings, without feeling that if ever honesty and integrity were embodied, it was in his person. He avowed nothing but what he conscientiously believed; he kept back nothing which conscience dictated to be avowed. And then, not only was his belief of all he taught most sincere, it was also most thoroughly practical and influential. He himself daily lived upon that bread of life which he broke to others. The doctrines which he preached to mankind were the support of all his own hopes, the spring of all his comforts, the source of his peace of mind, of his strength for service or for suffering in the cause of God; the principles which evermore governed and animated him, raised him above the fear of man, and the love of the world, and carried him with an heroic elevation of soul through a series of labours and dangers, never, perhaps, surpassed since the days of the Apostle Paul. In the genuine doctrines of the Gospel, and especially in that of our being "justified freely, by God's grace, through the redemption which is in Christ Jesus," and this inestimable benefit appropriated only by a living faith, and not by our own works or deservings, he found that which could alone relieve his own conscience from an anxiety amounting, at times, even to anguish, and for want of which he saw the whole Christian world around him groaning under a system of delusion, imposition, and bondage, the most intolerable and ruinous; and

what he had thus found to be the relief and salvation of his own soul, he could not but proclaim to others also. Neither "counted he his life dear unto himself, so that he might finish his course with joy, and the ministry, which he had received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God." Never, probably, did there exist the man who could more truly say with St. Paul, "God forbid that I should glory, save in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom (or by which) the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world." And this, assuredly, in all its parts, is the state of mind which is especially wanting to us, to give more effect to our ministrations, and to draw down a larger measure of the divine blessing upon them. May He, with whom is the residue of the spirit, indeed raise up among us evermore a new race of such "men of God," by whom he will indeed revive his Church wherever it is decayed, reform it wherever it is corrupted, unite it wherever it is divided, and extend it wherever it is not yet planted; that "the wilderness and the solitary place may be glad for them, and the desert rejoice and blossom as the rose!"

In short, the great charm of Luther's character, and that from which the other excellencies, admired in him even by those for whom this may have less attraction, derived their origin, or their support, was his spirituality. His whole heart and soul were in religion, not in the barren notion of its truths, or in its mere exterior observances, but in the communion with God by which it is produced and cherished; in the love of God and of man, in the righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost, in the penitence, the faith, the devotion, the deadness to the world, the heavenly mindedness, in which it consists; and in all the practical fruits of righteousness and usefulness which it brings forth.

His extraordinary qualities were indeed alloyed with no inconsiderable mixture of human frailty and human passions; these, however, were of such a nature, that they cannot be imputed to malevolent intention, or dishonesty of purpose, but seem to have taken their rise from the same source with many of his virtues. His mind, forcible and vehement in all its

operations, roused by great objects, or agitated by violent passions, broke out, on many occasions, with an impetuosity which would astonish men of feebler spirits, or such as are placed in a more tranquil situation. By carrying some praiseworthy dispositions to excess, he bordered, sometimes, on what was culpable, and was often betrayed into actions which exposed him to censure. His confidence that his own opinions were well founded, approached to arrogance; his courage in asserting them, to rashness; his firmness in adhering to them, to obstinacy; and his zeal in confuting his adversaries, to rage and scurrility. Accustomed himself to consider every thing as subordinate to truth, he expected the same deference for it from other men; and, without making any allowances for their timidity and prejudices, he poured forth against such as disappointed him in this particular, a torrent of invective mingled with contempt. Regardless of any distinction of rank or character, when his doctrines were attacked, he chastised all his adversaries, indiscriminately, with the same rough hand; neither the royal dignity of Henry VIII., nor the eminent learning and abilities of Erasmus, screened them from the same severity of language with which he treated Tetzels or Eccius.

But these indecencies of which Luther was guilty must not be imputed wholly to the violence of his temper; they ought to be charged in part on the manners of the age. Among a rude people, unacquainted with those maxims which, by putting continual restraint on the passions of individuals, have polished society, and rendered it agreeable; disputes of every kind were managed with heat and strong emotions, and were uttered in their natural language without reserve or delicacy. At the same time, the works of learned men were all composed in Latin, and they were not only authorized by the example of eminent writers in that language, to use their antagonists with the most illiberal scurrility, but, in a dead tongue, indecencies of every kind appear less shocking than in a living language, whose idioms and phrases seem gross, because they are familiar.

In passing judgment upon the characters of men, we ought

to try them by the principles and maxims of their own age, not by those of another. For although virtue and vice are, at all times, the same, manners and customs vary continually; and some parts of Luther's behaviour, which appear to us most culpable, gave no disgust to his contemporaries. It was even by some of those qualities which we are now apt to blame, that he was fitted for accomplishing the great work which he undertook. To rouse mankind, when sunk in ignorance or superstition, and to encounter the rage of bigotry, armed with power, required the utmost vehemence of zeal, as well as a temper daring to excess. A gentle call would neither have reached, nor have excited, those to whom it was addressed. A spirit more amiable, but less vigorous than Luther's, would have shrunk back from the dangers which he braved and surmounted. Towards the close of Luther's life, though without any perceptible diminution of his zeal or abilities, the infirmities of his temper increased upon him; he was worn down with care and labour, with disease and pain. External events also were, at that juncture, peculiarly harassing; and all this acting upon a temper naturally irritable, and, it is admitted, not so much softened and subdued as it ought to have been, for a time overcame him. He was peevish and impatient to those about him, and he could no longer bear the scene of his vexations. The course, however, which he took, was the proper one; he retired, he relaxed himself, he visited his pious friends Arnsdorf, George of Anhalt, and others, and no doubt he communed with his God. The Elector wrote affectionately to him; the University solicited his return. He complied, and we hear no more of his fretfulness and desertion of his duties. This is, indeed, the true account of the case, which, while from the censures entailed upon Luther, it may admonish us how much it behoves even the greatest and best of men never to relax their watchfulness, but to pray to the last, "Hold thou me up and I shall be safe," may teach us also candour and forbearance in our judgments, and especially may guard us against confounding what is transient in the feelings of any one, with what is habitual and a part of his character. Having lived to be a witness of his own amazing success, to



see a great part of Europe embrace his doctrines, and to shake the foundation of the Papal throne, before which the mightiest monarchs had trembled, he discovered, on some occasions, symptoms of vanity and self applause. He must have been, indeed, more than man if, upon contemplating all that he actually accomplished, he had never felt any sentiment of this kind rising in his breast.

Sometime before his death he felt his strength declining; his constitution being worn out by a prodigious multiplicity of business, added to the labour of discharging his ministerial functions with unremitting diligence, and to the fatigue of constant study, besides the composition of works as voluminous as if he had enjoyed uninterrupted leisure and retirement.

He thus describes his own situation at the commencement of the last year of his life. "I am become listless, weary, and dull, for now I am aged and useless. I have finished my course. I am about to be gathered to my fathers, corruption and the worms are about to receive their portion. I have lived long enough, if it may be called life. Pray for me, that the hour of my departure may be accepted of God, and beneficial to me. I concern not myself about the Emperor or the Empire, except to commend them to God in my prayers. The world appears to me to draw near its close, to wax old as a garment, according to the words of the Psalmist, and that it is about to be changed." Some months afterwards he wrote, "I have not slept, nor enjoyed a moment's rest, the whole of last night, from the torments of the stone; therefore, to-day I am useless." But his energy was not wholly departed. In May, 1545, we find him writing to Amsdorf, "I meditate another book against the Papacy. The weakness of my head keeps me from it, and the vast number of letters I have to write, which deprive me of my leisure. But if God please, I will proceed as soon as possible. Pray for me that I may speedily be released, and be with Christ; or that, if I am to live, or rather to linger here, for a further space, strength of body and mind may be given me, that, like Sampson in his dying moments, I may take vengeance upon the Philistines."

Luther departed this life, while piously engaged in an im-

portant labor of love, having been long prepared for that trying hour, as his writings and conversation plainly prove; he was also enabled to continue his public and private services to the last; when surrounded by his friends, and supported by strength from on high, he died at a full age, and **HIS END WAS PEACE.**

On Luther's departure from Wittemberg, for Esyleben, he was accompanied by his three sons; they were detained for some days at Halle, by the floods, which they at length passed in a boat, but not without danger. While in that city, he preached for Justus Jonas, who proceeded with him to Eisleben, where they arrived on the 28th of January, 1546. The Counts who usually resided in this district, received Luther with much attention, both on account of their individual regard for him, and their respect for the Elector of Saxony; but he suffered severely from the fatigue of the journey, and the coldness of the season.

His last sermon was preached on the 14th of February, only four days prior to his decease, from Matthew xi. 26. Among other points, Luther strongly impressed upon his hearers, the value and importance of the privileges they then enjoyed; formerly, we should have hastened to the end of the earth, if a place had been pointed to us, where God was spoken of, but now we daily hear his words in public or in private, or read them in books, and do so with indifference and unwillingness: he exhorted his hearers to take the yoke of Christ, and to bear his cross, and concluded his public labors with these words; "may God give us his grace, that we receive his most precious word with a grateful mind, and that we increase in the knowledge and faith of Jesus Christ, his Son; continuing steadfast unto the end, in the profession of his blessed word. Amen."

Luther continued nearly as well as usual, and applied himself to business till the 17th of February, on which day he felt indisposed; and by the advice of his friends, he remained in his study. He frequently walked about the room, and sometimes looked out of the window, praying with much earnestness, as those who were present could perceive. He seemed

cheerful, but said to Jonas and Cœlius, "I was born and baptized here at Eisleben; what if I should die in this place?" A person named Sickelius, overheard one of his prayers, which was to the following effect. "O Lord God, Heavenly Father, I call upon thee in the name of thy beloved Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, that, according to thy promise, to the glory of thy name, thou wouldest mercifully hear my prayers. Since thou hast delivered me, according to thy great mercy and loving kindness, from the apostacy, blindness, and darkness of the Papacy, before the last day which is now at hand; and hast shewn me the light of the Gospel, which now shines throughout the world; be pleased to keep the Church of my beloved country unto the end, without falling in pure truth, and in the constant and lawful confession of thy word: so that all the world may know that I have been sent by thee. Do this, O Lord, Most Gracious God. Amen, Amen."

Luther ate as usual, and was cheerful. After supper, a pain in his breast which he had felt during the day, returned, and he asked for warm cloths, but would not consent that the physicians should be called. About nine o'clock, he laid down upon a couch, and slept for an hour, while Jonas, Cœlius, his sons, and several friends watched by him. At ten o'clock he awoke, and wished his friends to go to rest, which they declined. About half-past eleven, he retired to bed, and as they conducted him to his chamber, he said, "I go to rest with God;" and repeated the words of the Psalmist, "Into thy hands I commend my spirit;" then offering his hands to those around him, he bade them good night; desiring them to pray that God would continue the Gospel to them; "for," added he, "the Pope and the Council at Trent devise mighty things." He laid down, Jonas and some others sleeping in the room with him. About one o'clock, he awoke Jonas, and desired that a fire might be made in his study, adding, that he was very ill, and felt a great oppression at his chest, and should die at Eisleben. Jonas replied, that God our heavenly Father, would help him through Christ, whom he had preached. Luther then went to his study without assistance, again repeating, "Into thy hands I commend my spirit." There

again he walked about, and two physicians were sent for, and speedily arrived; also Count Albert, accompanied by his Countess. Various remedies were then applied; his attendants observing a perspiration commence, told him he would soon be better, but Luther said it was the forerunner of death, and prayed, "O my heavenly Father! everlasting and merciful God, thou hast revealed thy Son, our Lord Jesus Christ to me; I have preached in his name; I confess him before men; I love him and worship him, as my beloved Saviour and Redeemer, whom the Pope and other wicked men persecute, revile and blaspheme; O Lord, receive my soul:" he afterwards said, "O heavenly Father, although I am about to leave the body, and am snatched away from this life, yet I certainly know that I am about to dwell with thee for ever, and that no one can pluck me out of thy hand." He, also repeated a verse of the Sixty-eighth Psalm, "Our God is the God of whom cometh salvation, and unto God the Lord, belong the issues from death." The physician then proceeded to administer some remedy, which Luther perceiving said, "I am about to depart;" and thrice rapidly repeated, "Into thy hands I commend my spirit, thou hast redeemed me, O God of truth:" adding, "God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on him, should not perish, but have everlasting life." His soul evidently was now about to depart, nor did he reply to his friends, although they spoke earnestly to him. The Countess, however, having administered a cordial, he revived sufficiently to reply, yes or no. Jonas and Cœlius then addressed him, saying, "Beloved Father, you still confess Jesus Christ, the Son of God, our Saviour and Redeemer." Luther answered "Yes," so that it could be heard distinctly; he did not speak again, but laid quietly with his hands clasped for a quarter of an hour, during which time his attendants saw his features gradually become pale and fixed; at length he breathed a gentle sigh, and fell asleep in Jesus, without evincing any pain or suffering at the moment of his departure, which took place between two or three o'clock in the morning of

the 18th of February, 1546: he was in the sixty-third year of his age.

The attention paid to the mortal remains of the illustrious Reformer, shewed the esteem and respect entertained for him by his friends and disciples. The Elector of Saxony was then at Weimer, and being apprized of the death of Luther on the same day in which it occurred, immediately directed that his body should be removed to Wittemberg, and buried there. Every respect was shewn on this occasion. The corpse was first placed in the Church of Saint Andrew, at Eisleben, attended by all the persons of rank who were in the city, and Jonas preached from the latter part of the 4th chapter of the 1st epistle to the Thessalonians. On the following day, Cœlius preached from Isaiah 57th. "The righteous perisheth, and no man layeth it to heart." After the sermon, the body was removed with a splendid but solemn procession, accompanied by a great assemblage, and was carried that day to Halle. It was received there with much respect, by the ministers and principal citizens, while the inhabitants of the city, and the neighbouring villages, crowded to meet the procession; and the body was deposited in the Church, when the 130th Psalm was sung, or rather only expressed, amidst the sobs and tears of the multitude. On February 23rd, the procession arrived at Wittemberg, accompanied by a number of the Saxon nobility and gentry.

At the gates of the city, the body was met by the members of the University, and most of the citizens, and carried to the Church in the Citadel: the widow of Luther, with his children and relatives, joining those who followed. Such a multitude had never before assembled at Wittemberg, and all deeply lamented the loss they had sustained. As the funeral train moved through the streets, hymns were sung, until the corpse arrived at the Church, to which Luther had publicly affixed his Theses respecting Indulgences, thirty years before. Bugenhagenius preached to several thousand auditors; and Melancthon delivered a funeral Oration, in which he expressed his own grief, and his affection for the deceased; while he

endeavoured to mitigate the sorrows of his hearers. Luther's body was deposited in a tomb near the pulpit, from whence he had delivered so many holy and excellent discourses; there it lies, sown in weakness, that it may be raised in power at the last day.

Such is a summary of the account of Luther's funeral, as given by Jonas and his associates; it manifests the deep impression which that exalted and revered character had made upon the hearts and affections of his fellow citizens.

The account of his death filled the Roman Catholic party with excessive as well as indecent joy, and damped the spirits of all his followers; neither party sufficiently considering that his doctrines were now so firmly rooted, as to be in a condition to flourish, independent of the hand which had first planted them.

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## CHAPTER IX.

THE Emperor, meanwhile, pursued the plan of dissimulation with which he had set out; employing every art to amuse the Protestants, and to quiet their fears and jealousies; for this purpose, he contrived to have an interview on the 28th of March, 1546, with the Landgrave of Hesse, the most active of all the confederates, and the most suspicious of his designs. To him he made such warm professions of his concern for the happiness of Germany, and of his aversion to all violent measures; he denied in such express terms, his having entered into any league, or having begun any military preparations, which should give any just cause of alarm to the Protestants, as seem to have dispelled all the Landgrave's doubts and

apprehensions, and sent him away fully satisfied of his pacific intentions. This artifice was of great advantage, and effectually answered the purpose for which it was employed. The Landgrave, upon his leaving Spires, where he had been admitted to this interview, went to Worms, where the Smalkaldic confederates were assembled, and gave them such a flattering account of the Emperor's favorable disposition towards them, that they, who were too apt, as well from the temper of the German nation, as from the genius of all great associations or bodies of men, to be slow and dilatory and undecisive in their deliberations, thought there was no necessity of taking any immediate measures against danger, which appeared to be distant or imaginary.

Such events, however, soon occurred as staggered the credit which the Protestants had given to the Emperor's declarations. The Council of Trent, though still composed of but a small number of Italian and Spanish Prelates, without a single deputy from many of the kingdoms which it assumed a right of binding by its decrees, being ashamed of its long inactivity, proceeded now to settle articles of the greatest importance. Having begun with examining the first and chief point in controversy, between the Church of Rome and the Reformers, concerning the rule which should be held as supreme and decisive in matters of faith, the Council, by its infallible authority, determined "that the books to which the designation of APOCRYPHAL hath been given, are of equal authority with those which were received by the Jews and primitive Christians, into the sacred Canon; that the traditions, handed down from the apostolic age, and preserved in the Church, are intitled to as much regard as the doctrines and precepts which the inspired authors have committed to writing; that the Latin translation of the Scriptures, made or revised by Saint Jerome, and known by the name of the VULGATE translation, should be read in Churches, and appealed to in the schools as authentic and canonical." Against all who disclaimed the truth of these tenets, anathemas were denounced, in the name, and by the authority of the Holy Ghost. The decision of these points which undermined the

main foundation of the Lutheran system, was a plain warning to the Protestants, what judgment they might expect, when the Council should have leisure to take into consideration the particular and subordinate articles of their creed.

This discovery of the Council's readiness to condemn the opinions of the Protestants, was soon followed by a striking instance of the Pope's resolution to punish such as embraced them. The appeal of the Canons of Cologne against their Archbishop having been carried to Rome, Paul eagerly seized on that opportunity, both of displaying the extent of his own authority, and of teaching the German Ecclesiastics the danger of revolting from the established Church. As no person appeared in behalf of the Archbishop, he was held to be convicted of the crime of heresy, and a Papal Bull was issued, declaring, that forasmuch as, being unmindful of his own salvation, he had in divers ways offended against the rules and doctrines of the Church, and against the apostolical traditions, also against the rites and ceremonies of the Christian religion, as practised in the Church, contrary to the censure pronounced by Leo X. against Luther and his adherents; therefore he was deprived of the communion of the Church, of his Archbishopric, and all his benefices and offices, his subjects were commanded not to obey him in future, they were absolved from their oath of allegiance, he was enjoined silence, and condemned to pay all the expences incurred by his adversaries in their proceedings.

This sentence was not promulgated until the August following. When it was communicated to the Archbishop, he published a statement of his reasons for refusing to obey the Pope's decree, and appealed to a lawful Council when one should be assembled.

The people, however, did not consider that the Papal absolution justified them in breaking their solemn oaths to their ruler, and were unwilling to submit, but the Archbishop resolved to save them from the disastrous consequences of an invasion by the imperial troops. He accordingly resigned, and on January the 28th, was succeeded by Adolph, Count



Schaumberg, whom he had appointed his coadjutor several years before.

The countenance which he had given to the Lutheran heresy, was the only crime imputed to the Archbishop, as well as the only reason assigned to justify the extraordinary severity of this decree. The Protestants could hardly believe that Paul, how zealous soever he might be to defend the established system, or to humble those who invaded it, would have ventured to such extremities against a Prince and an Elector of the Empire, without having previously secured such powerful protection, as would render his censure something more than an impotent and despicable sally of resentment. They were, of course, deeply alarmed at this sentence against the Archbishop, considering it as a sure indication of the malevolent intentions not only of the Pope, but of the Emperor against the whole party.

Upon this fresh revival of their fears, with such violence as is natural to men roused from a false security, and conscious of their having been deceived, Charles saw that now it became necessary to throw aside the mask; and to declare openly what part he determined to act. By a long series of artifices and fallacy, he had gained so much time that his measures, though not altogether ripe for execution, were in great forwardness. The Pope, by his proceedings against the Elector of Cologne, as well as by the decree of the Council, had precipitated matters into such a situation as rendered a breach between the Emperor and the Protestants almost unavoidable. Charles had, therefore, no choice left him, but either to take part with them in overturning what the See of Rome had determined, or to support the authority of the Church openly by force of arms. Nor did the Pope think it enough to have brought the Emperor under a necessity of acting; he pressed him to begin his operations immediately, and to carry it on with such vigour, as could not fail of securing success. Transported by his zeal against heresy, Paul forgot all the prudent and cautious maxims of the Papal See, with regard to the danger of extending the Imperial authority, beyond due

bounds ; and in order to crush the Lutherans, he was willing to contribute towards raising up a master, that might, one day, prove formidable to himself, as well as to the rest of Italy.

Such was the situation of affairs, such the discernment with which the Emperor foresaw and provided for every event, when the Diet of the Empire met at Ratisbon. The speech with which Charles opened the Diet, was extremely artful. After professing, in common form, his regard for the prosperity of the Germanic body, and declaring that, in order to bestow his whole attention upon the re-establishment of its order and tranquillity, he, at present, abandoned all other cares, rejected the most pressing solicitations of his other subjects to reside among them, and postponed affairs of the greatest importance ; he took notice, with some disapprobation, that his disinterested example had not been imitated ; many members of chief consideration having neglected to attend an assembly to which he had repaired, with such manifest inconvenience to himself. He then mentioned their unhappy dissensions about religion, lamented the ill success of his past endeavours to compose them, complained of the abrupt dissolution of the late conference, and craved their advice with regard to the best and most effectual method of restoring union to the Churches of Germany, together with that happy agreement, in articles of faith, which their ancestors had found to be of no less importance to their civil interest, than becoming their Christian profession.

By this gracious and popular method of consulting the members of the Diet, rather than of obtruding upon them any opinion of his own, besides the appearance of great moderation, and the merit of paying much respect to their judgment, the Emperor dexterously avoided discovering his own sentiments, and reserved to himself, as his only part, that of carrying into execution what they should recommend. Nor was he less secure of such a decision as he wished to obtain, by referring it wholly to themselves. The Roman Catholic members, prompted by their own zeal, or prepared by his intrigues, joined immediately in representing that the authority of the Council now met at Trent, ought to be supreme in all matters

of controversy ; that all Christians should submit to its decrees, as the infallible rule of their faith, and, therefore, they besought him to exert the power with which he was invested by the ALMIGHTY, in protecting that assembly, and in COMPELLING the Protestants to acquiesce in its determinations. The Protestants, on the other hand, presented a memorial, in which, after repeating their objections to the Council of Trent, they proposed, as the only effectual method of deciding the points, that either a free general Council should be assembled in Germany, or a national Council of the Empire should be called, or a select number of divines should be appointed out of each party, to examine and define articles of faith. They mentioned the recesses of several Diets favorable to this proposition, and which had afforded them the prospect of terminating all their differences in this amicable manner ; they now conjured the Emperor not to depart from his former plan ; and, by offering violence to their consciences, to bring calamities upon Germany, the very thought of which must fill every lover of his country with horror. The Emperor receiving this paper with a contemptuous smile, paid no further regard to it. Having already taken his final resolution, and perceiving that nothing but force could compel them to acquiesce in it, he dispatched the Cardinal of Trent to Rome, in order to conclude an alliance with the Pope, the terms of which were already agreed on, and commanded a body of troops, levied on purpose in the Low Countries, to advance towards Germany ; he also gave commissions to several officers for raising men in different parts of the Empire ; he warned John and Albert of Brandenburg, that now was the proper time of exerting themselves, in order to rescue their ally, Henry of Brunswick, from captivity.

Alarmed with reports of this kind from every quarter, as well as with the preparations for war, which they could not but observe, the Deputies of the Confederates demanded audience of the Emperor, and in the name of their masters, required to know whether these military preparations were carried on by his command ; and for what end, and against what enemy ? To a question put in such a tone, and at a

time when facts were become too notorious to be denied, it was necessary to give an explicit answer. Charles owned the orders which he had issued, and professing his purpose not to molest, on account of religion, those who should act as dutiful subjects, declared that he had nothing in view but to maintain the rights and prerogatives of the Imperial dignity ; and, by punishing some factious members, to preserve the ancient constitution of the Empire from being impaired or dissolved, by their irregular and licentious conduct. Though the Emperor did not name the persons whom he charged with such high crimes, and destined to be the objects of his vengeance, it was obvious that he had the Elector of Saxony, and the Landgrave of Hesse in view. Their Deputies, considering what he had said, as a plain declaration of his hostile intentions, immediately retired from Ratisbon.

The Cardinal of Trent found it no difficult matter to treat with the Pope, who, having at length brought the Emperor to adopt that plan which he had long recommended, assented with eagerness to every article he proposed. The league was signed a few days after the Cardinal's arrival at Rome. The pernicious heresies which abounded in Germany, the obstinacy of the Protestants in rejecting the Holy Council assembled at Trent, and the necessity of maintaining sound doctrine, together with good order in the Church, are mentioned as the motives of this union between the contracting parties. In order to check the growth of these evils, and to punish such as had impiously contributed to spread them, the Emperor, having long and without success, made trial of gentler remedies, engaged instantly to take the field with a sufficient army, that he might compel all who disowned the Council, or had apostatized from the religion of their forefathers, to return into the bosom of the Church, and submit, with due obedience, to the Holy See. He likewise bound himself not to conclude a peace with them during six months without the Pope's consent, nor without assigning him his share in any conquest which should be made upon them.

Notwithstanding the explicit terms in which the extirpation of heresy was declared to be the object of the war which was

to follow upon this treaty, Charles still endeavoured to persuade the Germans that he had no design to abridge their religious liberty, but that he aimed only at vindicating his own authority, and repressing the insolence of such as had encroached upon it. With this view, he wrote circular letters, in the same strain with his answer to the Deputies at Ratisbon, to most of the free cities, and to several of the Princes who had embraced the Protestant doctrines. In these he complained loudly, but in general terms, of the contempt into which the Imperial dignity had fallen, and of the presumptuous, as well as disorderly behaviour of some members of the Empire ; he declared, that he now took arms, not in a religious, but in a civil quarrel ; not to oppress any who continued to behave as quiet and dutiful subjects, but to humble the arrogance of such as had thrown off all sense of that subordination in which they were placed under him, as head of the Germanic body. Gross as the deception was, and manifest as it might have appeared to all who considered the Emperor's conduct with attention, it became necessary for him to make trial of its effect, and such was the confidence and dexterity with which he employed it, that he derived the most solid advantages from this artifice. If he had avowed at once an intention of overturning the Protestant Church, and of reducing all Germany under its former state of subjection to the Papal See, none of the cities or princes who had embraced the new opinions, could have remained neutral, after such a declaration ; far less could they have ventured to assist the Emperor in such an enterprize. Whereas, by concealing and even disclaiming any intention of that kind, he not only saved himself from the danger of being overwhelmed by a general confederacy of all Protestant States, but he furnished the timid with an excuse for continuing inactive, and the designing or interested, with a pretext for joining him, without exposing themselves to the infamy of abandoning their own principles, or taking part openly in suppressing them. At the same time, the Emperor well knew, that if, by their assistance, he were enabled to break the power of the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave, he might afterwards prescribe what terms he

pleased to the feeble remains of a party without union, and destitute of leaders, who would then regret, too late, their mistaken confidence in him, and their inconsiderate desertion of their associates.

The Pope, by a sudden and unforeseen display of his zeal, had well nigh disconcerted this plan, which the Emperor had formed with so much care and art. Proud of having been the author of such a formidable league against the Lutheran heresy, and happy in thinking that the glory of extirpating it was reserved for his Pontificate, he published the articles of his treaty with the Emperor, in order to demonstrate the pious intention of their confederacy, as well as to display his own zeal which prompted him to make such extraordinary efforts for maintaining the faith in its purity. Not satisfied with this, he soon after issued a Bull, containing most liberal promises of indulgence to all who should engage in this holy enterprize, together with warm exhortations to such as could not bear a part in it themselves, to increase the fervour of their prayers, and the severity of their mortifications, that they might draw down the blessing of Heaven upon those who undertook it. Nor was it zeal alone which pushed the Pope to make declarations so inconsistent with the account which the Emperor gave of his motives for taking arms. He was much scandalized at Charles's dissimulation in such a cause, at his seeming to be ashamed of owning his zeal for the Church, and at his endeavours to make that pass for a political contest, which he ought to have gloried in as a war that had no other object than the defence of religion. With as much solicitude, therefore, as the Emperor laboured to disguise the purpose of the Confederacy, did the Pope endeavour to publish their real plan, in order that they might come at once to an open rupture with the Protestants; that all hopes of reconciliation might be cut off, and that Charles might be under fewer temptations, and have it less in his power than at present to betray the interests of the Church by any accommodation beneficial to himself.

The Emperor, though not a little offended at the Pope's indiscretion or malice, in making this discovery, continued

boldly to pursue his own plan, and to assert his intentions to be no other than what he had originally avowed. Several of the Protestant states, whom he had previously gained, thought themselves justified, in some manner, by his declaration, for abandoning their associates, and even for giving assistance to him.

But these artifices did not impose on the greater and sounder part of the Protestant Confederates; they clearly perceived it to be against the REFORMED RELIGION that the Emperor had taken arms, and that not only the suppression of it, but the extinction of the German liberties, would be the certain consequence of his obtaining such an entire superiority as would enable him to execute his schemes in their full extent; they determined, therefore, to prepare for their own defence, and neither to renounce those religious truths, to the knowledge of which they had attained by means so wonderful, nor to abandon those civil rights which had been transmitted to them by their ancestors. In order to give the necessary directions for this purpose, their deputies met at Ulm, soon after their abrupt departure from Ratisbon. Their deliberations were now conducted with that vigour and unanimity which the imminent danger which threatened them required.

Notwithstanding their ill success in their negotiations with foreign Courts, the Confederates found no difficulty at home in bringing a sufficient force into the field. Germany abounded at that time in inhabitants; the feudal institutions, which subsisted in full force, enabled the nobles to call out their numerous vassals, and to put them in motion on the shortest warning; the martial spirit of the Germans, not broken or elevated by the introduction of commerce and arts, had acquired additional vigour during the continual wars in which they had been employed, for half a century, either in the pay of the Emperors, or the Kings of France. Upon every opportunity of entering into service, they were accustomed to run eagerly to arms; and to every standard that was erected, volunteers flocked from all quarters. Zeal seconded, on this occasion, their native ardour. Men on whom the doctrines of the Reformation had made that deep impression which accompanies

truth when first discovered, prepared to maintain it with proportional vigour; and among a warlike people it appeared infamous to remain inactive, when the defence of religion was the motive for taking arms. Accident combined with all these circumstances in facilitating the levy of soldiers among the Confederates; a considerable number of Germans, in the pay of France, being dismissed by the King, on the prospect of peace with England, joined in a body the standard of the Protestants. By such a concurrence of causes, they were enabled to assemble, in a few weeks, 70,000 foot and 15,000 horse, provided with a train of 120 cannon, 800 ammunition waggons, 8,000 beasts of burden, and 6,000 pioneers. This army, one of the most numerous, and, undoubtedly, the best appointed of any which had been levied in Europe, during that century, did not require the united effort of the whole Protestant body to raise it. The Elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse, the Duke of Wirtemberg, the Princes of Anhalt, and the Imperial Cities of Augsburg, Ulm, and Strasburg, were the only powers which contributed towards the great armament: the Electors of Cologne, of Brandenburg, and the Count Palatine, overawed by the Emperor's threats, or deceived by his professions, remained neuter. John, Marquis of Brandenburg Bareith, and Albert of Brandenburg Anspach, though both early converts to Lutheranism, entered openly into the Emperor's service, under pretext of having obtained his promise for the security of the Protestant religion, and Maurice of Saxony soon followed their example.

But it happened, fortunately for Charles, that the Confederates did not avail themselves of the advantage which now lay full in their view. In civil war the first steps are commonly taken with much timidity and hesitation. Influenced by those considerations which, happily for the peace of society, operate powerfully on the human mind, the Confederates could not think of throwing off that allegiance which they owed to the head of the Empire, or of turning their arms against him, without one solemn appeal more to his candour, and to the impartial judgment of their fellow subjects. For this purpose, they addressed a letter to the Emperor, and a manifesto to all



the inhabitants of Germany. The tenor of both was the same. They represented their own conduct with regard to civil affairs as dutiful and submissive; they mentioned the inviolable union in which they had lived with the Emperor, as well as the many and recent marks of his good will and gratitude wherewithal they had been honored; they asserted religion to be the sole cause of the violence which the Emperor now meditated against them; and in proof of this, produced many arguments to convince those who were so weak as to be deceived by the artifices with which he endeavoured to cover his real intentions; they declared their own resolution to risk every thing in maintenance of their religious rights, and foretold the dissolution of the German Constitution, if the Emperor should finally prevail against them.

Charles, though in such a perilous situation, as might have inspired him with moderate sentiments, appeared as inflexible and haughty as if his affairs had been in the most prosperous state. His only reply to the address and manifesto of the Protestants was to publish the ban of the Empire against the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave of Hesse, their leaders, and against all who should dare to assist them. By this sentence, the ultimate and most rigorous one which the German jurisprudence has provided, for the punishment of traitors or enemies to their country, they were declared rebels and outlaws, and deprived of every privilege which they enjoyed, as members of the Germanic body; their goods were confiscated, their subjects absolved from their oath of allegiance, and it became not only lawful, but meritorious, to invade their territories.

The Confederates, now perceiving all hopes of accommodation to be at an end, had only to choose whether they would submit without reserve to the Emperor's will, or proceed to open hostilities. They were not destitute either of public spirit or of resolution, to make the proper choice. A few days after the ban of the Empire was published, they, according to the custom of that age, sent an herald to the Imperial Camp with a solemn declaration of war against Charles, to whom they no longer gave any other title than that of pretended

Emperor, and renounced all allegiance, homage, or duty which he might claim, or which they had hitherto yielded.

The command of the confederate army was committed to the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse, with equal authority. The ill-consequences of this equality were soon evident; the Elector, though brave and zealous for the cause, was irresolute and cautious, while the Landgrave was enterprising, decided, and prompt in the execution of his views. It may be easily supposed that they seldom agreed in their plans, or in the measures for executing them, and the inferior members of the Confederacy were more inclined to act as independent commanders, than to respect or to obey a divided authority. The first proceeding of the allied army was a correct specimen of what followed. Schertel, a brave and gallant commander, on his way to join the main body, was informed of the approach of the Italian troops furnished by the Pope, and hastened to intercept them, by occupying the passes of the Alps. In this design he would probably have succeeded, but he was recalled by an order from the Elector and the Landgrave. The Emperor then advanced from Ratisbon to Landshut to meet his allies, who were followed by a body of Spanish veterans from Naples, and the Imperial army was thereby increased to thirty-six thousand well disciplined soldiers. The Papal troops were commanded by Octavio Farnese, the grandson of the Pope, who was accompanied by his brother, Cardinal Farnese. That Prelate wished to march at the head of the army with a cross carried before him, and to offer Indulgences to all who would assist them. In short, he desired to give to this war the character of the ancient crusades against the Turks and Albigenses! The Emperor, however, refused to allow such proceedings, as they would have been inconsistent with his manifesto, and the Legate finding that the Protestant religion was allowed at that time even in the camp of the Emperor, returned to Italy much displeased. The Confederates permitted several days to pass before they resolved to follow the Emperor, and even after they had determined to do so, they changed their plan, and proceeded to besiege Ratisbon, in which city the Emperor had

left only a small garrison; but before they could capture the place, the Emperor's army was reinforced, and he returned towards Ratisbon. The Confederates then marched to meet him, and on August the 29th, they found the Imperial army encamped at Ingolstadt, in a situation favourable for an attack on their part. The Landgrave urged this measure in the strongest terms, but the Elector hesitated, and half measures were adopted. They advanced towards the Imperial camp, hoping that the Emperor would direct his forces to leave the entrenchments, and attack them. But Charles was not so rash. He restrained his troops, and by his example they were encouraged to sustain a furious cannonade unmoved. The next day the Confederates found the Imperial camp so strengthened, that they could not then make an assault with any possibility of success.

The Emperor was soon afterwards joined by a body of troops from Flanders, which the Confederates had neglected to intercept, and he began to act upon the offensive, though he still continued to avoid a general action. He saw the forces of the allies gradually diminish, and looked forward to the effects of discord, and the want of money, as likely to disperse their army. He, therefore, contented himself with harassing them at every opportunity, but his own troops also began to suffer from the protracted campaign and the excesses in which they indulged, so that it was for some time doubtful whether the zeal of the Protestant Princes, or the steady perseverance of the Emperor, would prevail. One point appeared certain, the party which first divided its forces would be the loser, and the Emperor had assistance for the attainment of this object, which speedily decided the contest.

We have seen that Maurice of Saxony refused to join the Smalcaldic league, or to assist the Confederates against the Emperor. They, however, counted upon his neutrality, and when the Elector of Saxony took the field at the beginning of the campaign, he entrusted the protection of his dominions to Maurice, a charge which the latter willingly undertook. But he had already entertained projects which unfitted him for such an office. His ambitious disposition made him discon-

tented with the extent of his own territories, and he could not but see that a civil war afforded opportunities of advantage which could not else be expected to occur. He was sufficiently emancipated from the yoke of Popery to be a Protestant by profession, yet his conduct was not influenced by the principles he outwardly assumed, and he viewed the passing events with a determination to advance his own interests. Actuated by such feelings, he was not likely to support the Confederates. His discerning mind plainly perceived that the Confederacy was not likely to prevail against the Emperor, and he, therefore, determined to attach himself to the latter, although it would engage him to act against the Landgrave, his father-in-law, and the Elector, his near relative, to whom, as the reader will recollect, he was under deep obligations! so little are worldly minds restrained by principles of honour and duty. The treacherous Maurice cannot be censured more strongly than he deserves, and yet it is not difficult, on grounds of worldly prudence, to account for the line of conduct he pursued. Considerable and repeated differences had arisen between himself and the Elector, while the character and conduct of the Landgrave were not likely to inspire confidence or promote esteem; the flattering assurances of the Emperor, that he would preserve the religious privileges of the Protestants, assisted to quiet his conscience. During the Diet of Ratisbon, Maurice had several interviews with Charles, in which they agreed that, as soon as a proper opportunity offered, he should assist the Emperor, who, in return, engaged to bestow upon him the dignities and possessions of the Elector of Saxony. Maurice then returned home, and was so perfect in the art of dissimulation, that the Confederates entertained no suspicion of his designs, though he maintained a correspondence with King Ferdinand, with whom he arranged his future proceedings.

But Maurice had already fully determined upon the course they would pursue; he entered the dominions of the Elector at the head of his army, while King Ferdinand's troops invaded them on the other side, and in a few weeks the whole Electorate, excepting Gotha, Eisenach, and Wittenberg had submitted.

It would be foreign to the design of this history to enter into the details of the campaign in Saxony, or the movements of the principal armies. It is sufficient to state that the conduct of Maurice had the effect desired by the Emperor, and that the Elector determined to return home to rescue his subjects, if possible, from the oppression of Maurice, and the cruelties practised by the Hungarian soldiers of Ferdinand. The Council of the Confederates saw the fatal effects of such a measure; they determined to avert them, if practicable, by an application for peace, to which they were the more inclined from the diminution of their forces, and the conduct of several members of the league, who were unwilling to prosecute the war with vigour.

This proposition was made through the Elector of Brandenburg, but the Emperor refused to listen to any negotiation, unless the Elector of Saxony would surrender himself, and his dominions, as a preliminary. As nothing worse could have been required in the event of a total defeat, the Emperor's demand was refused, but with the fatality which attended all their measures, the Confederates determined to separate their army. A part was left at Wirtemberg, another division proceeded with the Elector to Saxony, levying contributions upon Mentz, and some other Roman ecclesiastical districts as they passed. The remainder returned to their respective countries. Such was the termination of a campaign, at the commencement of which the allies had threatened to drive the Emperor from Germany, and certainly possessed force sufficient to have done so.

Charles had been inactive during the interval. Upon the retreat of the Confederates, he immediately took possession of several towns and cities belonging to the League. He then summoned the Duke of Wirtemberg to submit, and that Prince, seeing the enemy about to ravage his country, threw himself upon the Emperor's clemency. He was, however, compelled to sue for pardon on his knees.

The Elector Palatine also made his peace with the Emperor; his aid to the Confederates had been very inefficient. Fagius, had been sent for by him to assist in promoting the Reformation

of Heidelberg, but such measures now were no longer prosecuted; the cities of Ulm, Augsburg, and many others, followed these examples, so that in a few weeks this formidable Confederacy was dissolved. Scarcely any one remained in arms, except the Elector John Frederic and the Landgrave. They were marked out for destruction, and, therefore, Charles took no measures to induce them to submit. But the offences of their late associates were not lightly passed over. The Princes and the Deputies of the cities were compelled to apply for pardon upon their knees, and large sums of money were exacted from them. They were also required to give up their warlike stores, to admit garrisons into their principal fortresses, and to engage to assist the Emperor against their former allies, when required. These terms were dictated by the Emperor, who refused to admit the slightest reference to religion. The Deputies from Memingen, endeavoured earnestly to obtain a promise for the free exercise of their faith, but they found it necessary to desist. The Emperor now required the Archbishop of Cologne to resign, as already related, and these submissions were all made before the end of January, 1547.

Although the Emperor had thus effectually dispersed his German opponents, he did not find himself quite at liberty for some time to follow those who yet remained in arms. The Pope had entertained hopes that the heretics would be effectually crushed, and that the Papal See would once more be able to dictate to the Emperor. But Paul now began to perceive that the effectual subjugation of the Lutherans would enable the latter to give law to Italy. Upon this he directed his troops to withdraw from the Imperial army, and recalled his permission to Charles to use the Ecclesiastical revenues of Spain, assigning as a reason that the terms stipulated in their treaty had now expired, and that the Emperor did not proceed with due activity for the suppression of heresy. The Imperial army, thus weakened, was insufficient to march into Saxony, until new levies had been raised.

The death of Francis left the Emperor at liberty to proceed against the Elector, and as soon as he was apprized of the decease of his rival, which had been for some weeks expected,

he entered Saxony. The Elector John Frederic again adopted that cautious, temporizing policy, which he had previously displayed, and, after some indecisive movements, he was overtaken by the Emperor at Muhlberg, on the banks of the Elbe. Charles crossed that river the next day, (April 24th) while the Elector, although at the head of a more numerous force, remained inactive in his camp. When John Frederic found that a battle was unavoidable, the courage for which he was remarkable predominated over his irresolution, he headed his troops, and they resisted for a time the attack of the enemy, but the Imperial army prevailed; the Elector, wounded in the left cheek, and overcome with fatigue, finding resistance to be fruitless, and escape impossible, surrendered, and was immediately carried to the Emperor.

Charles treated his captive with even more harshness than he had manifested towards the other Protestant Princes. He refused to accept his surrender according to the usual forms of the German Empire, and when the Elector said, "I yield myself your prisoner, most gracious and potent Emperor," Charles interrupted him, saying, "Am I now your Emperor? lately, 'Charles of Ghent, styling himself the Emperor,' was the only title you would allow me." The Elector was proceeding to request that he might be treated according to his rank, when the Emperor said, "You shall be treated as you deserve," and abruptly turned from him, ordering that he should be strictly guarded. Ferdinand then upbraided the captive Elector in terms yet more severe, to which Frederic made no reply, but withdrew, accompanied by the soldiers appointed to be his guard.

The Landgrave of Hesse still remained in arms, and was not an enemy to be despised. His dominions were extensive, and his subjects well affected to his views, and if he could resist the Imperial forces for a short time, he might expect that many of his former associates would again unite against the Emperor; he was also assured of support from the King of France. But he only desired to procure favourable terms, and listened to the counsels of Maurice, his son-in-law, who boasted of his interest with the Emperor. The harsh treat-

ment of John Frederic, however, could not but excite apprehensions in his mind. The Elector of Brandenburg and Maurice acted as mediators, but the terms proposed were very rigorous: he was to renounce the League of Smalkalde, to acknowledge the Emperor's authority, and promise obedience to the Imperial chamber; to surrender himself and his territories to the Emperor; to implore pardon on his knees; to pay a large sum towards the expenses of the war; to demolish his fortifications, liberate his prisoners, and allow the Imperial troops to pass through his territories whenever they required. As to the future, Charles would not pledge himself to any conditions, but the mediators were assured of the Landgrave's personal security, and they engaged by a bond, that if the Emperor offered any violence to his person, they would surrender themselves to his children, to be treated in the same manner.

The Landgrave, finding that there was no other course for him to pursue, proceeded to the Imperial camp at Halle. The morning after his arrival (June 19th) the articles of peace were brought for his signature.

The Landgrave was then conducted to the Emperor, who sat in state, surrounded by the Princes of the Empire. He knelt down, while his Chancellor implored pardon in the humblest terms. The Emperor sat with stern composure, and made a sign to one of his secretaries to read his answer, which was merely a promise that he would not proceed against the Landgrave with the utmost severity, but only according to the tenor of the articles agreed upon. Charles then turned aside, without taking any notice of the suppliant prince, or desiring him to rise. After remaining some time in this humiliating posture, he rose unbidden, and was about to approach the Emperor, but was restrained by the Elector of Brandenburg, who told him he was to sup with the Duke of Alva at the castle.

When the repast was concluded, the Spanish noble took the mediators aside, and informed them that, by the Emperor's order, the Landgrave was to remain there as a prisoner. They remonstrated in vain against this treachery, and the indigna-



tion of the Landgrave at being thus betrayed, may easily be conceived. For several days the mediators endeavoured to prevail upon the Emperor to depart from this treacherous course of proceeding, but had the mortification to find that they did not possess their former influence. Charles no longer needed their services, his last opponent was in his power, and he resolved to make use of the advantages thus unworthily obtained.

Such was the conclusion of a war, which De Thou has justly characterized as "most memorable." It was not merely the dispersion of a skilfully organised and powerful confederacy, by the superior ability and well directed policy of an opponent, but it was to human appearance, spiritual darkness prevailing against the light of truth. In that view the minds of the real followers of Christ could not but be filled with the most gloomy forebodings from the result, and it required particular notice in these pages. For earthly support, the Protestants could only look to Princes, who had sacrificed the cause they professed to defend, that they might gratify their private animosities, and attain the objects of their worldly ambition. Upon such protectors little reliance could be placed.

The Emperor now acted with much severity towards the German Protestants. He seized the arms and military stores belonging to the members of the Smalkaldic League, and sent them to his hereditary dominions. He also, by his own authority, levied large sums of money, both from the Princes who had assisted him, and from those who had opposed his views, and thus amassed more than sixteen hundred thousand crowns, an unusual sum at that period. Several of the lesser Princes were banished, and the city of Magdeburg was put under the Ban of the Empire.

The reader is not to suppose that the sufferings of the Protestants of Germany, during the campaign, were of an ordinary description. They are mentioned by many historians, and in the correspondence of the Reformers; Bucer also drew an affecting picture of the state of Germany, during the Smalkaldic war, in a brief preface to Senarcleaus's account of Diazius,

published at the end of the year 1546. After noticing the Papal errors and tyranny, he confesses that the ingratitude of the Germans, for the divine blessings God had bestowed upon them, required signal punishment; but he exhorts his countrymen to rejoice that they had been called, in some measure, to suffer for the Cross of Christ. He then speaks of the contempt of treaties manifested by the enemy, and asks, "What more savage and cruel race of men could have been sent against us than the soldiers of Antichrist, who considered it praiseworthy to tear infants and children to pieces, cutting off their hands and feet in sport." He adds further particulars of their atrocious conduct to individuals advanced in years, which must not be distinctly stated. Of these scenes he spoke as still occurring at the time he wrote, but he trusted that God would, ere long, put an end to the blasphemer of his name, the opposer of the kingdom of Christ, who endeavoured to blot out from the earth those that called upon the Lord, declaring himself to be god over the whole earth.

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## CHAPTER X.

### DIET OF AUGSBURG.

THE Emperor having now humbled, and, as he imagined, subdued the independent and stubborn spirit of the Germans, by the terror of arms and the rigour of punishment, held a Diet at Augsburg, in order to compose finally the controversies with regard to religion, which had so long disturbed the Empire; he durst not, however, trust the determination of a matter so interesting to the free suffrage of the Germans, broken as their minds now were. He, therefore, entered the

city at the head of his Spanish troops, and assigned them quarters there. The rest of his soldiers he cantoned in the adjacent villages, so that the members of the Diet, while they carried on their deliberations, were surrounded by the same army which had overcome their countrymen. Immediately after his public entry, Charles gave a proof of the violence with which he intended to proceed. He took possession by force of the Cathedral, together with one of the principal Churches, and his Priests having, by various ceremonies, purified them from the pollution with which they supposed the unhallowed ministrations of the Protestants to have defiled them, they re-established, with great pomp, the rites of the Romish worship.

The concourse of members to this Diet was extraordinary; the importance of the affairs concerning which it was to deliberate, added to the fear of giving offence to the Emperor by an absence which lay open to misconstruction, brought together almost all the Princes, Nobles, and representatives of cities, who had a right to sit in that Assembly. The Emperor, in the speech with which he opened their meeting, called their attention immediately to that point which seemed chiefly to merit it. Having mentioned the fatal effects of the religious enthusiasm and dissensions which had arisen in Germany, and taken notice of his own unwearied endeavours to procure a General Council, which alone could provide a remedy adequate to those evils, he exhorted them to recognize its authority, and to acquiesce in the decisions of an Assembly to which they had originally appealed, as having the sole right of judgment in the case.

But the Council to which Charles wished them to refer all their controversies had, by this time, undergone a violent change; the fear and jealousy with which the Emperor's first successes against the Confederates of Smalkalde had inspired the Pope, continued to increase. Not satisfied with attempting to retard the progress of the Imperial arms, by the sudden recal of his troops, Paul began to consider the Emperor as an enemy, the weight of whose power he must soon feel, and against whom he could not be too hasty in taking precautions.

He foresaw that the immediate effect of the Emperor's acquiring absolute power in Germany, would be to render him entirely master of all the decisions of the Council, if it should continue to meet in Trent. It was dangerous to allow a monarch so ambitious to get the command of this formidable engine, which he might employ, at pleasure, to limit or overturn the Papal authority. As the only method of preventing this, he determined to remove the Council to some city more immediately under his own jurisdiction, and at a greater distance from the terror of the Emperor's arms, or the reach of his influence. An incident fortunately occurred, which gave this measure the appearance of being necessary. One or two of the Fathers of the Council, together with some of their domestics, happening to die suddenly, the Physicians, deceived by the symptoms, or suborned by the Pope's Legates, pronounced the distemper to be infectious and pestilential. Some of the Prelates, struck with a panic, retired; others were impatient to be gone; and, after a short consultation, the Council was translated to Bologna, a city subject to the Pope. All the Bishops in the Imperial interest warmly opposed this resolution, as taken without necessity, and founded on false or frivolous pretexs. All the Spanish Prelates, and most of the Neapolitan, by the Emperor's express command, remained at Trent; the rest, to the number of thirty-four, accompanying the Legates to Bologna. Thus a schism commenced in that very assembly which had been called to heal the divisions of Christendom; the Fathers of Bologna inveighed against those who staid at Trent, as contumacious and regardless of the Pope's authority; while the others accused them of being so far intimidated by the fears of imaginary danger, as to remove to a place where their consultations could prove of no service towards re-establishing peace and order in Germany.

The Emperor, at the same time, employed all his interest to procure the return of the Council to Trent. But Paul who highly applauded his own sagacity in having taken a step which put it out of Charles's power to acquire the direction of that assembly, paid no regard to a request the object of which was so extremely obvious. The summer was consumed in

fruitless negotiations with respect to this point ; the importunity of the one, and obstinacy of the other, daily increasing.

But though the Pope found that it was not in his power to kindle immediately the flames of war, he did not forget the injuries which he was obliged, for the present, to endure ; resentment settled deeply in his mind, and became more rancorous in proportion as he felt the difficulty of gratifying it. The breach between the Emperor and the Pope, was increased by the assassination of Peter Lewis Farnese, the Pope's son, who had been appointed Duke of Parma and Placenza, by the Papal authority. He had rendered himself odious to his subjects by his profligacy and cruelty, and was actively employed in exciting hostile proceedings against the Emperor. The Imperial agents on the other hand, encouraged the discontent of his subjects, the principal of whom conspired together, and putting him to death, delivered their city to the Imperial troops.

It was while these sentiments of enmity were in full force, and the desire of vengeance at its height, that the Diet of Augsburg, by the Emperor's command, petitioned the Pope in the name of the whole Germanic body, to enjoin the Prelates who had retired to Bologna, to return again to Trent, and to renew their deliberations in that place. Charles had been at great pains in bringing the members to join in this request ; but having observed a considerable variety of sentiments among the Protestants, with respect to the submission which he had required to the decrees of the Council, some of them being altogether intractable, while others were ready to acknowledge its right of jurisdiction, upon certain conditions, he employed all his address in order to gain or to divide them.

But the Pope, from the satisfaction which he felt in mortifying the Emperor, as well as from his own aversion to what was demanded, resolved, without hesitation, that this petition should not be granted ; though, in order to avoid the imputation of being influenced wholly by resentment, he had the address to throw it upon the fathers at Bologna, to put a direct negative upon the request. With this view, he referred to their consideration the petition of the Diet, and they ready

to confirm by their assent whatever the Legates were pleased to dictate, declared that the Council could not, consistently with its dignity, return to Trent, unless the Prelates, who, by remaining there, had discovered a schismatic spirit, would first repair to Bologna, and join their brethren ; and that, even after their junction, the Council could not renew its consultations with any prospect of benefit to the Church, if the Germans did not prove their intention of obeying its further future decrees to be sincere, by yielding implicit, immediate obedience to those which it had already passed.

Before Charles had arrived at Brussels, he was informed that the Pope's Legates at Bologna, had dismissed the Council by an indefinite prorogation, and that the Prelates assembled there, had returned to their respective countries. Necessity had driven the Pope into this measure, by the secession of those who had voted against the translation ; together with the departure of others, who grew weary of continuing in a place where they were not suffered to proceed to business ; whilst so few members remained, that the pompous appellation of a General Council, could not with decency be bestowed any longer upon them. Paul had no choice but to dissolve an assembly, which was become the object of contempt, and exhibited to all Christendom, a most glaring proof of the impotence of the Roman See. But unavoidable as the measure was, it lay open to be unfavorably interpreted ; and had the appearance of withdrawing the remedy, at the very time when those for whose recovery it was provided, were prevailed on to acknowledge its virtue, and to make trial of its efficacy. Charles did not fail to put this construction on the conduct of the Pope, and by an artful comparison of his own efforts to suppress heresy, with Paul's scandalous inattention to a point so essential, he endeavoured to render the Pontiff odious to all zealous Catholics. At the same time, he commanded the Prelates of his faction, to remain at Trent, that the Council might still appear to have a being, and might be ready whenever it was thought expedient to resume its deliberations for the good of the Church.

On the 14th of January, 1548, the Emperor communicated

to the Diet, the measures he had taken to procure the return of the Council to Trent. He still hoped to effect this, but as a considerable interval must previously elapse, he thought it was absolutely requisite, that some course should be immediately taken for the peace and welfare of Germany, in matters of religion. To promote this, he proposed that suitable persons should be appointed, to arrange some plan which might be generally acceptable, as to the points in dispute. The nomination of these individuals, was finally referred to the Emperor, who appointed Julius Pflug, Bishop of Naumburg, Michael Sidonius, the Suffragan Bishop of Mentz, and Islebius Agricola. Their materials were chiefly drawn from the book presented at the Diet of Ratisbon; the work was soon complete, and the authors were liberally recompensed.

Such were the circumstances which occasioned the promulgation of the Interim, and such were the authors of that production, which, as its name imports, was designed as a scheme to be adopted by both parties, till a Council was assembled, which should decide the questions relating to religion. It will ever remain a proof of the inefficiency of attempts to settle questions relative to religion, by concessions not made from a regard to the declarations of the divine word, but from a desire to promote earthly designs and human ambition; for the proceedings, both of the Pope and the Emperor, evinced their disregard of religion, excepting as the mere profession of it promoted or impeded their political views.

The Interim was opposed to the Reformation upon all the leading points in dispute. Among other doctrines inculcated, were the following. That man can do more good works than God requires of him—that he must not, without doubting, believe that his sins are forgiven—that the Church has the power of interpreting Scripture, and explaining the doctrines to be deduced from them—that the Pope is the head of the Church, the Bishops having a certain degree of authority in their respective cures—that, by confirmation and unction, the Holy Ghost is received, so as to enable the receiver to contend against temptation—that sins are to be confessed to the priest—that by satisfaction, which consists in the fruits of repen-

tance, especially fasting, alms deeds, and prayer, the causes of sin are rooted out, and temporal judgments are taken away or mitigated. The Romish doctrines and ceremonies respecting the mass, were confirmed; and it was decreed, that "the memory of saints is still to be celebrated, that they may intercede with God the Father for us, and help us by their merits, and that the dead also be remembered, and prayer made to God for them."

The only real concessions to the Reformers were, that married priests should retain their cures, and that where the cup has been again given to the Laity in the sacrament, it might be continued.

The contents of the Interim shew how little Romanists will concede to Protestants. That they were not satisfactory to the sincere followers of the truth, will easily be supposed, but that the Pope and his adherents should consider them as too favourable for their opponents, seems almost incredible—yet such is the fact! The Papists contended, that the two concessions, if they may be called such, made to the Lutherans, could only be granted by the Pope, and he not only refused his consent, but strongly censured these clauses! The bigoted Romanists, in fact, considered the Interim as an attack upon the authority of their Church, and compared it to the proceedings of Uzzah, asserting that the conduct of Charles was similar to that of Henry the Eighth! It was approved by neither party. But Paul, viewing the Interim as a politician, and desirous to see the Emperor involved in difficulties, was pleased with it individually, while, as the Pope, he censured it; he was also aware, that some opposition on his part would be the most likely plan to induce the Emperor to persist in the measure. In fact, the Court of Rome saw that the resistance which would be made to the Interim in Germany, would effectually hinder any reformation in their corrupt Church. The Pope also endeavoured to have the Interim considered as an instrument intended to curb the Protestants, rather than as a measure of union.

With the Interim, which prescribed the doctrines to be received, was connected a form of Ecclesiastical Reformation,



designed to regulate all matters of order and discipline. This gave still higher offence at Rome, than the regulation of doctrine, as, perhaps, wanting the restriction prefixed to the Interim, and directly infringing the fundamental principle, that no secular person is to give law to the Clergy, in any thing relating to their ecclesiastical character or functions. Among some things of a better kind, the following most objectionable orders were promulged: that the monastic life should be restored, where it had been discontinued; that nothing should be taught in schools contrary to the old, or Roman Catholic doctrine; that the Latin tongue should be retained in the services of the Church, "lest they should fall into contempt, if the people understood the language;" and that the Canon of the mass, (the Romish prayer of consecration,) with all its mummeries, should be preserved entire, and should be pronounced, as the custom had been, in a low voice, that the dignity of those dreadful mysteries might be kept up.

The Interim met with the fate it deserved, and which might have been expected. "It was rather rejected by all," says F. Paul, "than accepted by any, and that did follow, which doth ordinarily happen to him, that would unite contrary opinions: he maketh both parties agree to impugn his sentiments, and each man obstinate in maintaining his own."

The Emperor now appeared to have triumphed over all his adversaries, but his present position was not easy to maintain. He felt the necessity of rendering his power independent of Papal authority, and was also well aware of the opposition of the Protestants to his ambitious projects relative to Germany. By establishing the Interim, he thought to make himself independent of the one, while it would serve him as a means for subjugating the other; but herein he was mistaken. His attempt to rule the consciences of his Protestant subjects, could only succeed so far as it was enforced by power, and it united them more firmly amongst themselves; while his interference with matters of religion, displeased the bigotted Romanists, and deprived him of their support.

The Emperor proceeded without delay to enforce compliance with the Interim. Many who professed the Protestant doc-

trines, submitted, rather than provoke the Imperial displeasure ; but there were some examples of steadfast adherence to the truth, even among the Princes of the Empire. The Elector of Brandenburg made no resistance, but the Marquis, his brother, obtained an audience of the Emperor, and reminding him of his promise to permit the free exercise of religion, entreated to be allowed to decline assenting to the new decree, urging at the same time, the services he had so lately rendered to the Imperial cause. The Emperor refused his request, upon which the Marquis declared that he could not approve the Interim, without acting contrary to his conscience. Charles then ordered him to leave Augsburg immediately. The Marquis departed the same evening, and made no attempt to enforce the decree in his own dominions. Wolfgang, Duke of Deux-ponts, manifested the same steadfastness.

The deposed Elector of Saxony, John Frederic, again exhibited a noble instance of constancy. The Emperor sent his principal ministers, Granvelle and the Bishop of Arras, to use their utmost endeavours to persuade him to submit to the decree, and adopt the doctrines of the Interim. They gave hopes of liberty, if he would comply ; but John Frederic told them, that he had been enabled to bear his reverses and the severities inflicted upon him by the Emperor more cheerfully, from a belief that the Protestant faith, as exhibited in the Confession of Augsburg, was conformable to the doctrines taught by the prophets and apostles. He added, "since God has thus enlightened me with the knowledge of his word, I cannot forsake the truths I have learned, unless I would purchase to myself eternal damnation ; wherefore, if I should admit this decree, which in so many and such material points, disagrees with the Holy Scriptures, I should condemn the doctrines of Jesus Christ which I have hitherto professed, and I should approve what I know to be impious and erroneous. And what would that but be mocking, first God, and then the Emperor, with hypocritical and deceitful professions ? Can there be any greater crime ? Would it not be sinning against the Holy Ghost ? I therefore, most earnestly, and by the mercies of

God, which through the sacrifice of his own Son, he bestowed upon man, entreat the Emperor not to be offended at my refusal. I retain the doctrines set forth in the Confession of Augsburg, for the salvation of my soul, and slighting all worldly advantages, it is my whole desire, that after this painful and miserable life is ended, I may be made partaker of the blessed joys of eternal life." He then declared, that he made not this profession out of vain glory, or for any earthly consideration, as nothing could be more desirable to him, in his infirm state of body, than to be permitted to return to his family. He also expressed his readiness to submit to the Emperor's will in all points which were not connected with religion. Finding promises were of no avail to turn John Frederic from the good profession he had made, the Emperor tried the effects of severity, but with as little success.

His books on religious subjects were taken from him, and he was restricted in other respects. The Protestant minister who had hitherto attended him, was refused admittance, and finding himself in personal danger, was obliged to make his escape in disguise. The sons of John Frederic, were afterwards required to receive the Interim. They refused, as their father had done, and the Emperor having expressed his displeasure, the father replied, "that he could not urge his sons to do what he himself could not do with a safe conscience." The chief employment of the Elector during his captivity, was the study of the Scriptures.

In May, 1550, the Emperor, with his son, departed from Brussels, and proceeded to Augsburg. His determination to act with severity against the Protestants, was evinced by a most severe proclamation, issued upon his leaving the Netherlands, and which, although immediately applicable only to those provinces, shewed the Protestants in other parts of his dominions, what they had to expect. He stated, that "it was absolutely necessary, that the plague of heresy should be totally rooted out," and ordered, that none of the writings of Luther, or any other forbidden books should be bought, kept, or distributed by any man, whatever his rank and quality might be—that no person should deface the picture or image

of any saint—all private assemblies were forbidden—no one was to dispute about Holy Scripture, or to interpret any passage, unless he were a divine duly authorized. All persons who offended against this decree, were to be punished capitally, by burning, if they rejected the Romish religion, while the only indulgence, if they abjured their tenets, was a milder death; in that case, the men were to be beheaded; the women to be buried alive! The property of such offenders was to be confiscated; persons harbouring them were to be punished in the same manner, as if they themselves were guilty; no one was to be allowed to take a house or habitation, unless he possessed a certificate from the curate of the parish, where he last resided; any one who interceded for a suspected person, was to be considered as a favourer and supporter of heretics; no one was to keep a school, or to print a book without a licence. The inquisitors who were to examine into the execution of this decree, possessed the fullest powers, and thirty-eight questions were drawn up, to be put to all persons accused, or even suspected; amongst these, was an inquiry, whether they believed in the efficacy of the mass, to deliver souls from purgatory, and in the supremacy of the Pope; also, whether they considered the followers of Luther, and the other Reformers to be members of the Church of Christ.

The consternation of the Netherland Protestants at this Edict, may readily be supposed. Many prepared to leave the country, and several thousand protestants of different denominations, suffered death in various ways, during the nine ensuing years. Flacius translated this decree into the German language, and demanded of Islebius and the Adiaphorists, whether they would still assert that the reformed religion was not aimed at by the Interim! This Edict of the Emperor, doubtless, stimulated the few cities of Germany which still resisted the Interim, to continue their opposition: Magdeburg, Bremen, Hamburg and Lubec, however, were the only places of note openly opposed to the Emperor's will.

The unexpected defection of one of the Pope's own family, to an enemy whom he hated, irritated almost to madness, a mind peevish with old age; and there was no degree of secu-

urity to which Paul might not have proceeded against a grandson, whom he reproached as an unnatural apostate. But happily for Octavio, death prevented his carrying into execution, the harsh resolutions which he had taken with respect to him, and put an end to his Pontificate, November 10, 1549, in the sixteenth year of his administration, and the eighty-second of his age.

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## CHAPTER XI.

THE new Pope, however ready to fulfil his engagements to the family of Farnese, discovered no inclination to observe the oath which each Cardinal had taken when he entered the Conclave, that if the choice should fall on him, he would immediately call the Council to resume its deliberations. Julius knew by experience, how difficult it was to confine such a body of men within the limits which it was the interest of the See of Rome to prescribe: and how easily the zeal of some members, the rashness of others, or the suggestions of the Princes on whom they depended, might precipitate a popular and ungovernable assembly into forbidden inquiries, as well as dangerous decisions; he wished for these reasons, to have eluded the obligation of his oath, and gave an ambiguous answer to the first proposals which were made to him by the Emperor, with regard to that matter. But Charles, either from his natural obstinacy in adhering to the measures which he had once adopted, or from the mere pride of accomplishing what was held to be almost impossible, persisted in his resolution of forcing the Protestants to return into the bosom of the Church. Having persuaded himself that the

authoritative decisions of the Council might be employed with efficacy in combating their prejudices; he, in consequence of that persuasion, continued to solicit earnestly that a new Bull of Convocation might be issued, and the Pope could not with decency reject that request. When Julius found that he could not prevent the calling of a Council, he endeavoured to take to himself all the merit of having procured the meeting of an assembly, which was the object of such general desire and expectation. A congregation of Cardinals, to whom he referred the consideration of what was necessary for restoring peace to the Church, recommended, by his direction, the speedy convocation of a Council, as the most effectual expedient for that purpose, and as the new heresies raged with the greatest violence in Germany, they proposed Trent as the place of its meeting, that, by a near inspection of the evils, the remedy might be applied with greater discernment, and certainty of success. The Pope warmly approved of this advice, which he himself had dictated, and sent Nuncios to the Imperial and French Courts, in order to make known his intentions.

Meanwhile, Julius, in preparing the Bull for the convocation of the Council, observed all those tedious forms which the Court of Rome can artfully employ to retard any disagreeable measure. At last, however, it was published, and the Council was summoned to meet at Trent, on the first day of the ensuing month of May, 1551. As he knew that many of the Germans rejected, or disputed, the authority and jurisdiction which the Papal See claims with respect to General Councils, he took care in the preamble of the Bull to assert in the strongest terms his own right not only to call, and preside in, that assembly, but to direct its proceedings; nor would he soften these expressions, in any degree, in compliance with the repeated solicitations of the Emperor, who foresaw what offence they would give, and what construction might be put on them. A dispute had, at this time, arisen between the Pope and Octavio, grandson of the late Pope, relative to the Duchy of Parma, which ultimately involved the King of

France and the Emperor in hostilities; Julius being assisted by Charles, whilst Francis supported Octavio.

The motions and alarm which this war, or the preparations for it, occasioned in Italy, prevented most of the Italian Prelates from repairing to Trent on the 1st of May, the day appointed for re-assembling the Council, and though the Papal Legates and Nuncios resorted thither, they were obliged to adjourn the Council to the 1st of September, hoping such a number of Prelates might then assemble, that they might with decency begin their deliberations. At that time, about sixty Prelates, mostly from the Ecclesiastical States, or from Spain, together with a few Germans, convened. The Session was opened with the accustomed formalities, and the Fathers were about to proceed to business, when the Abbot of Bellozane appeared, and, presenting letters of credence as Ambassador from the King of France, demanded audience. Having obtained it, he protested, in Henry's name, against an assembly called at such an improper juncture, when a war, wantonly kindled by the Pope, made it impossible for the Deputies from the Gallican Church to resort to Trent in safety, or to deliberate on articles of faith and discipline with the requisite tranquillity; he declared that his master did not acknowledge this to be a General or Oecumenic Council, but must consider and would treat it as a particular and partial convention. The Legate affected to despise this protest, and the Prelates proceeded, notwithstanding, to examine and decide the great points in controversy concerning the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, Penance, and extreme Unction. This measure of the French monarch, however, gave a complete deep wound to the credit of the Council, at the very commencement of its deliberations. The Germans could not pay much regard to an Assembly, the authority of which the second Prince in Christendom had formally disclaimed, or feel any great reverence for the decisions of a few men, who arrogated to themselves all the rights belonging to the representatives of the Church Universal, a title to which they had such poor pretensions.

The Emperor, nevertheless, was straining his authority to the utmost, in order to establish the reputation and jurisdiction of the Council. He had prevailed on the three Ecclesiastical Electors, the Prelates of greatest power and dignity in the Church, next to the Pope, to repair thither in person; he had obliged several German Bishops of inferior rank to go to Trent themselves, or to send their proxies; he granted an Imperial safe-conduct to the Ambassadors nominated by the Elector of Brandenburg, the Duke of Wirtemberg, and other Protestants, to attend the Council, and exhorted them to send their divines thither, in order to propound, explain, and defend their doctrine. At the same time his zeal anticipated the decrees of the Council, and, as if the opinions of the Protestants had already been condemned, he took large steps towards exterminating them. With this intention, he called together the ministers of Augsburg, and after interrogating them concerning several controverted points, enjoined them to preach nothing, with respect to these, contrary to the tenets of the Romish Church. Upon their declining to comply with a requisition so contrary to the dictates of their consciences, he commanded them to leave the town in three days, without revealing to any person the cause of their banishment; he prohibited them to preach for the future in any province of the Empire, and obliged them to take an oath that they would punctually obey these injunctions. They were not the only victims to his zeal. The Protestant Clergy in most of the cities in the Circle of Swabia were ejected with the same violence, and in many places such magistrates as had distinguished themselves by their attachment to the new opinions, were dismissed with the most abrupt irregularity, and their offices filled, in consequence of the Emperor's arbitrary appointment, with the most bigotted of their adversaries. The reformed worship was almost wholly suppressed throughout that extensive province. The ancient and fundamental privileges of the free cities were violated. The people were compelled to attend the ministration of priests, whom they regarded with horror as idolaters,\* and to

\* Sleidan gives a very amusing account of the renewed celebration of the Mass at Strasburg, and the impression produced by it, when the ceremony had



submit to the jurisdiction of magistrates whom they detested as usurpers.

not been seen there for more than twenty years. "Great was the concourse of people that flocked to the Church, especially of the youth, for to them it was a strange kind of sight to see a great many men with shaven crowns, in a new sort of habit, singing altogether what nobody understood, tapers and lamps burning at noon day, incense streaming up and smoking out of censers, the Priest with his subservient ministers standing before the altar, speaking in a strange language, using various kneelings and gestures, bowing down with hands joined, one while stretching forth his arms, and by-and-by contracting them again, turning about to the people, raising his voice high at some times, and at others muttering to himself very softly, now casting up his eyes, and then prostrating himself on the ground, shuffling about from place to place, now on the right and now on the left side of the altar, playing tricks with his fingers, breathing into a chalice, then lifting it on high, and then setting it down again, naming in certain places, now the dead, and now the living, breaking the wafer and putting it into the chalice, striking his breast with his fist, sighing, shutting his eyes as if he were asleep, and then waking again, eating one part of the wafer, and swallowing the other whole with the wine, that the least drop may not remain, washing his hands, turning his back to the people, and with an outstretched arm shewing them a gilt paten, clapping it to his forehead and breast, and kissing sometimes the altar, and sometimes a little image inclosed in wood or metal. These and the like performances the young people could not behold without wonder and amazement, nor indeed without laughter. A slight disturbance having accidentally arisen from one of these youths, the whole body of the Priests took such alarm, that they interrupted the service, shut themselves up within the iron gates, and could not be pacified by the interposition of the senate and magistrates, demonstrating to them that it was purely accidental, and that no citizen had been concerned in it.

They complained to the Bishop and the Emperor, and could not be prevailed upon to expose their lives by repeating the service for some months after. Many were of opinion that they were glad of the pretext for declining service from which, without any diminution of their incomes, they had for so many years been exempt.

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## CHAPTER XII.

## MAURICE—TREATY OF PASSAU—DIET OF AUGSBURG.

By Charles's late successes, not only the religion but the liberties of Germany were laid at his feet, and he had but to advance a little further, in order to make himself and his successors as absolute in that country as he had become in Spain. This could not but be most offensive and alarming to the Princes of the Empire, and to none more so than to Maurice, now become the most powerful among them, and, as such, the most impatient of a state of entire dependency on a superior. He appears also to have been sincerely attached to the Protestant religion; and he was personally irritated by the cruel imprisonment of the Landgrave, his father-in-law, who by his persuasion had put himself into the Emperor's hands. All these motives conspired to make him seek the overthrow of that despotic power which he had so essentially contributed to raise.

By a tissue of the most consummate artifice and duplicity, Maurice, though but a young man, had, for nearly two years, so completely imposed upon Charles, the most practised and wary politician of his age, as to dissipate every suspicion that might have arisen in his mind, and to inspire him to the last with the most entire confidence, while he actually formed leagues with several German Princes, collected troops, and kept them ready on the instant to obey his summons, and even entered into an effective alliance with the King of France, for the subversion of all that overgrown power which Charles had established in Germany.

The follower of Christ will not speak lightly of these scenes of craft and treachery, but he ought not to let them pass unnoticed, they exhibit strong evidence of the all controlling power of the Most High. Such proceedings illustrate the

declarations of holy writ; and history, perhaps, never presented a more complete exemplification of the words of Job; (chap. v. verses 13, 15, 16.) "He taketh the wise in their own craftiness, and the counsel of the froward is carried headlong. But he saveth the poor from their sword, from their mouth, and the hand of the mighty. So the poor hath hope, and iniquity stoppeth her mouth." Thus Charles V. was entangled by his own devices, and the crooked policy of men was made the means of delivering the German Protestants from the hands of their enemies.

The Emperor was in fact completely foiled at his own weapons, and although such details of human artifice are foreign to the immediate objects of this history, one circumstance must not pass unnoticed. Charles had a high opinion of his own abilities as a statesman, in fact he was one of the most subtle politicians of that day, and he had bribed two of the ministers of Maurice, who continually furnished him with minute details of what they supposed to be their master's intentions. But Maurice discovered this treachery, and availed himself of it to forward his own designs! He affected to treat these ministers with more confidence than ever, and continually consulted them as to his proceedings. He took care, however, not to inform them of his real intentions, but only of such things as he wished to be believed; these they transmitted to the Imperial ministers.

The critical moment had now arrived. Maurice found that his designs could no longer be concealed; and about the 15th of March he published a declaration, addressed to the States of the Empire. He noticed the evasive and unsatisfactory manner in which the Romanists acted with regard to religion, so that it was now evident that all former promises were set aside, and that unless the Protestants were prepared to obey all that their adversaries required, they must expect to suffer; while it was manifest that the plea respecting religion was only a pretext of the Emperor to obtain absolute power. He then referred to the Emperor's violation of his promises, by the imprisonment of the Landgrave, and the proceedings against that Prince and his family in the Imperial Courts.

Lastly, he spoke in strong terms of the manner in which the Emperor had interfered with the rights and liberties of the Germanic body, and the bondage in which they were held by the foreign troops, whose conduct was of the vilest description. Maurice concluded, by stating that he had resolved to take up arms for the deliverance of the Landgrave and John Frederic of Saxony, and for the national liberties.

On the 18th of March, 1552, Maurice joined his troops in Thuringia, and moved towards Upper Germany. The different towns submitted as he passed; he reinstated the magistrates and the ministers who had been dispossessed or silenced by the Emperor. On the 1st of April he arrived before Augsburg; the garrison was too small, and the fortifications too weak to admit of resistance; it surrendered in three days, and Maurice then required the neighbouring cities to submit.

The Emperor's situation is well described by Robertson. He says, "no words can express the Emperor's astonishment and consternation at events so unexpected. He saw a great number of the German Princes in arms against him, and the rest either ready to join them, or wishing success to their enterprise. He beheld a powerful monarch seconding their operations, at the head of a formidable army, while he, through negligence or credulity, neither had made, nor was in a condition to make, any effectual provision, either for crushing his rebellious subjects or resisting the invasion of the foreign enemy. Part of his Spanish troops had been ordered into Hungary against the Turks, the rest had marched back into Italy. The bands of veteran Germans had been dismissed, because he was unable to pay them, or had entered into Maurice's service after the siege of Madgeburg: and he remained at Inspruck with a body of soldiers scarcely strong enough to guard his own person. His treasury was as much exhausted as his army was reduced. He had received no remittances for some time from the New World. He had forfeited all credit with the merchants of Genoa and Venice, who refused to lend him money, though tempted with the offer of exorbitant interest. Thus Charles, though undoubtedly the most considerable potentate in Christendom, and capable of exerting

the greatest strength, as his power, though violently attacked, was still unimpaired, was unable to make such a sudden and vigorous effort as the juncture required, and was necessary to save him from the present danger.

In this dilemma Charles had recourse to negotiation. Maurice acceded to an overture which was made through King Ferdinand, and met that Monarch at Lintz. The conference produced no effect, but Maurice, the better to conceal his intentions, agreed to meet for further negotiation at Passau, on the 26th of May, and it was settled that a cessation of hostilities should take place on that day.

Meanwhile the French army entered Lorraine, and proceeded towards Alsace without opposition. The army of Maurice also continued its march. He rejoined his troops on the 9th of May at Gundelfingen, and as sixteen days remained before the truce would commence, he resolved upon a decisive measure, which, if successful, would at once close the contest. He put his army in motion, and pressed forward as rapidly as possible towards Inspruck. After a short contest he dispersed two small bodies of troops, which were posted to guard the entrance to the Tyrolese. Advancing into the mountains, he came to Ehrenberg, a castle which was considered almost impregnable, and commanded the way by which his army must pass. But a shepherd, who had recently discovered a path by which it was just possible to ascend the rock, on which the castle was situated, at a place where it was thought to be inaccessible, communicated the information to Maurice, and the garrison surrendered upon finding themselves threatened where they had least expected.

Maurice was now only two days march from Inspruck, and but for a mutiny of one of his battalions, which delayed him some hours, Charles would probably have fallen into his hands! The Emperor was apprized of his danger at a late hour in the evening of May the 22nd, and as nothing but immediate flight could save him, he caused himself to be put into a litter, though suffering much from the gout; and regarding not the darkness of the night, nor the heavy rain which was then falling, but leaving Inspruck, he travelled by torch-light through

the difficult and dangerous paths among the mountains. King Ferdinand and his attendants followed the Emperor in the utmost confusion, many of them on foot, and the principal nobility of the Spanish and German Courts were compelled to find their way as well as they could, through slippery paths, and drenched with rain, all ranks being confounded together on such an occasion, nor did the Emperor stop till he reached Villach, in Carinthia.

Maurice arriving a few hours after, and finding his prey escaped, abandoned the baggage of the Emperor and his ministers to be plundered by his soldiers. Thus taken unprepared by a foe who would not allow himself for a moment to be trifled with, to whose enterprize almost all Germany wished well, and who was powerfully seconded by the military operations of the French King in another quarter, Charles, now destitute of all hope of again forming such a confederation as he had brought to act for the overthrow of the Smalkaldic League, was compelled to have recourse to negotiation, and in fact to surrender all the great designs which he had so long been maturing, and had seemed to have successfully carried into effect against the liberties, both civil and religious, of Germany.

The reader is now in possession of the principal details relative to one of the most impressive instances of the mutability of human affairs recorded in history. The general historians of this period have but slightly noticed the important lesson it conveys to those who take counsel together against the Lord and against his anointed. (Psalm ii. verse 2.) From the period when Charles V. listened to the advice of his Spanish Counsellors, and became an open persecutor of the followers of the truth, from that moment his prosperity began to decline, and he became more and more involved in difficulties, till, at length, the snare was broken and the captives were delivered.

It was no sooner known at Trent that Maurice had taken arms, than a general consternation seized the Fathers of the Council. The German Prelates immediately returned home, that they might provide for the safety of their respective terri-

tories. The rest were extremely impatient to be gone, and the Legate who had hitherto disappointed all the endeavours of the Imperial Ambassadors at Trent to procure an audience in the Council for the Protestant Divines, laid hold with joy on such a plausible pretext for dismissing an assembly which he had found it so difficult to govern. In a congregation, held on the 28th of April, 1552, a Decree was issued, proroguing the Council during two years, and appointing it to meet at the expiration of that time, if peace were then re-established in Europe. This prorogation, however, continued no less than ten years, and the proceedings of the Council, when re-assembled in the year 1562, will be hereafter noticed in the progress of this history.

The convocation of this Assembly had been passionately desired by all the States and Princes in Christendom, who, from the wisdom as well as piety of Prelates representing the whole body of the faithful, expected some charitable and efficacious endeavours towards composing the dissensions which unhappily had arisen in the Church, but the several Popes by whose authority it was called had other objects in view. They exerted all their power and policy to attain these, and and by the abilities as well as address of the Legates, by the ignorance of many of the Prelates, and by the servility of the indigent Italian Bishops, acquired such influence in the Council, that they dictated all its decrees and framed them, not with an intention to restore unity and concord in the Church, but to establish their own dominion, or to confirm those tenets upon which they imagined that dominion to be founded: doctrines which had hitherto been admitted upon the credit of tradition alone, and received also with some latitude of interpretation, were defined with a scrupulous nicety, and confirmed by the sanction of authority. Rites which had formerly been observed only in deference to custom, supposed to be ancient, were established by the decrees of the Church, and declared to be essential parts of its worship. The breach instead of being closed, was widened and made irreparable. In place of any attempt to reconcile the contending parties, a line was drawn with such studied

accuracy, as ascertained and marked out the distinction between them. This still serves to keep them at a distance, and without some signal interposition of Divine Providence must render the separation perpetual.

It was the treaty of Passau, which now followed, that overturned the vast fabric, in erecting which Charles had employed so many years, and had exerted the utmost efforts of his power and policy; that annulled all his regulations with regard to religion, defeated all his hopes of rendering the Imperial authority absolute and hereditary in his family, and established the Protestant Church, which had hitherto subsisted precariously in Germany, through connivance or by expedients, upon a firm and secure basis. Maurice reaped all the glory of having concerted and completed this unexpected revolution. It is a singular circumstance, that the Reformation should be indebted for its security and full establishment in Germany, to the same hand which had brought it to the brink of destruction, and that both events should have been accomplished by the same arts of dissimulation. The ends, however, which Maurice had in view at those different junctures, seem to have been more attended to, than the means by which he attained them, and he was now as universally extolled for his zeal and public spirit, as he had lately been condemned for his indifference and interested policy.

With the character of Maurice as a politician we have little to do. We have only to view him as an instrument raised up by God, for the furtherance of the truth. His ambition and dissimulation, and his usurpation of the authority and possessions of his relative cannot be condemned too strongly; but we are not to regard him as destitute of every quality, which may claim respect or reproof. In addition to the prudence and courage which he so eminently displayed, he encountered difficulties in behalf of the Reformation, which he would scarcely have contended with, had the truths of the gospel been wholly indifferent to him. The manner in which he supported the ministers of the word, also shewed more regard for the doctrines they preached, than would have been exhibited by one who merely sought their assistance for political purposes.



While we see much, very much, in the character of Maurice, which the Christian must censure and condemn, and which is irreconcilable with the conduct of a follower of Christ, let us not proceed too far; we are not required to sit in judgment upon him, but may leave him with that Almighty God, in whose hand he certainly was an instrument of much good.

It is no less worthy of observation, that the French King, a monarch zealous for the Catholic faith, should employ his power in order to protect and maintain the Reformation in the Empire, at the very time when he was persecuting his own Protestant subjects, with all the fierceness of bigotry, and that the league for this purpose, which proved so fatal to the Romish Church, should be negotiated and signed by a Roman Catholic Bishop. So wonderfully doth the wisdom of God superintend and regulate the caprice of human passions, and render them subservient towards the accomplishment of his own purposes.

By the treaty of Passau, it was provided that another Diet should be called, with a view to an amicable adjustment of all matters in dispute, and that until such adjustment, the contending parties should enjoy the free and undisturbed exercise of their religion.

Various circumstances delayed the promised meeting of the Diet; at length, however, it met at Augsburg, where it was opened by Ferdinand, in the name of the Emperor, and terminated those deplorable calamities, which had so long desolated the Empire. After various debates, the following resolutions were agreed to, on the 25th of September, 1555.

“That such princes and cities as have declared their approbation of the Confession of Augsburg, shall be permitted to profess the doctrine, and exercise the worship which it authorizes, without interruption or molestation from the Emperor, the King of the Romans, or any power or person whatsoever; that the Protestants, on their part, shall give no disquiet to the Princes and States who adhere to the tenets and rites of the Church of Rome; that, for the future, no attempt shall be made towards terminating religious differences, but by the gentle and pacific methods of persuasion and conference; that

the Popish Ecclesiastics shall claim no spiritual jurisdiction in such states, as receive the Confession of Augsburg ; that such as had seized the benefices or revenues of the Church, previous to the treaty of Passau, shall retain possession of them, and be liable to no persecution in the Imperial Chamber on that account ; that the supreme civil power in every state, shall have right to establish what form of doctrine and worship it shall deem proper ; and if any of its subjects refuse to conform to these, shall permit them to remove with all their effects whithersoever they shall please ; that if any Prelate or Ecclesiastic shall hereafter abandon the Romish religion, he shall instantly relinquish his diocese or benefice, and it shall be lawful for those in whom the right of nomination is vested, to proceed immediately to an election, as if the office were vacant by death or translation, and to appoint a successor of undoubted attachment to the ancient system."

Such are the capital articles in this famous Recess, which is the basis of religious peace in Germany, and the bond of union among its various states, the sentiments of which are so extremely different, with respect to the points most interesting as well as important. In our age and nation, to which the idea of toleration is familiar, and its beneficial effects well known, it may seem strange that a method of terminating their dissensions, so suitable to the mild and charitable spirit of the Christian religion, did not sooner occur to the contending parties. But this expedient, however salutary, was so repugnant to the sentiments and practice of Christians during many ages, that it did not lie obvious to discovery.

Europe had been accustomed, during many centuries, to see speculative opinions propagated or defended by force ; the charity and mutual forbearance which Christianity recommends with so much warmth, were forgotten ; the sacred rights of conscience and private judgment were unheard of ; and not only the idea of toleration, but even the word itself, in the sense now affixed to it, was unknown. A right to extirpate error by force, was universally allowed to be the prerogative of such as possessed the knowledge of truth ; and as

each party of Christians believed that they had got possession of this invaluable attainment, they all claimed and exercised, as far as they were able, the rights which it was supposed to convey. The Roman Catholics, as their system rested on the decisions of an infallible judge, never doubted that truth was on their side, and openly called on the civil power to repel the impious and heretical innovators, who had risen up against it. The Protestants, no less confident that their doctrine was well founded, required with equal ardour, the princes of their party, to check such as presumed to impugn it.

It was towards the close of the seventeenth century, before toleration, under its present form, was admitted, first, into the republic of the United Provinces, and from thence introduced into England. Long experience of the calamities flowing from mutual persecution, the influence of free government, the light and humanity acquired by the progress of science, together with the prudence and authority of the civil magistrate, were all requisite in order to establish a regulation, so repugnant to the ideas which all the different sects had adopted, from mistaken conceptions concerning the nature of religion, and the rights of truth, or which all of them had derived from the erroneous maxims established by the Church of Rome.

The Recess of Augsburg, it is evident, was founded on no such liberal and enlarged sentiments concerning freedom of religious inquiry, or the nature of toleration. It was nothing more than a scheme of pacification, which political consideration alone had suggested to the contending parties, and regard for their mutual tranquillity and safety had rendered necessary. Of this, there can be no stronger proof than an article in the Recess itself, by which the benefits of the pacification are declared to extend only to the Catholics on the one side, and to such as adhered to the Confession of Augsburg, on the other. The followers of Zuinglius and Calvin remained, in consequence of that exclusion, without any protection from the rigour of the laws denounced against heretics. Nor did they obtain any legal security, until the treaty of Westphalia, near a century after this period, provided, that they should be

permitted to enjoy, in as ample a manner as the Lutherans, all the advantages and protection which the Recess of Augsburg affords.

The Pope received advice of the Recess of the Diet of Augsburg, and of the toleration which was thereby granted to the Protestants, which threw him at once into such transports of passion against the Emperor and King of the Romans, as carried him headlong into all the violent measures of his nephew. Full of high ideas with respect to the Papal prerogative, and animated with the fiercest zeal against heresy, he considered the liberty of deciding concerning religious matters, which had been assumed by an assembly composed chiefly of Laymen, as a presumptuous and unpardonable encroachment on that jurisdiction, which belonged to him alone, and regarded the indulgence which had been given to the Protestants, as an impious act of that power which the Diet had usurped. He complained loudly of both, to the Imperial ambassador. He insisted that the Recess of the Diet should immediately be declared illegal and void. He threatened the Emperor and the King of the Romans, in case they should either refuse or delay to gratify him in this particular, with the severest effects of his vengeance. He talked in a tone of authority and command which might have suited a Pontiff of the twelfth century, when a Papal decree was sufficient to have shaken, or to have overturned the throne of the greatest monarch in Europe, but which was altogether improper in that age, especially when addressed to the minister of a Prince, who had so often made Pontiffs more formidable than Paul, feel the weight of his power. The ambassador, however, heard all his extravagant propositions and menaces with much patience, and endeavoured to soothe him, by putting him in mind of the extreme distress to which the Emperor had been reduced at Inspruck, of the engagements which he had come under to the Protestants, in order to extricate himself; of the necessity of fulfilling these, and of accommodating his conduct to the situation of his affairs. But weighty as these considerations were, they made no impression on the mind of the haughty and bigotted Pontiff, who instantly replied; that he would

absolve him by his apostolic authority from these impious engagements, and even command him not to perform them; that in carrying on the cause of God and of the Church, no regard ought to be had to the maxims of worldly prudence and policy; and that the ill success of the Emperor's schemes in Germany, might justly be deemed a mark of the divine displeasure against him, on account of his having paid little attention to the former, while he regulated his conduct entirely by the latter. Having said this, he turned from the ambassador abruptly, without waiting for a reply.

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## CHAPTER XIII.

### REFORMATION IN ENGLAND.

TURNING from Germany, the Cradle of the Reformation, and from those holy men to whom, under God, we owe the first dawn of truth and science on the Continent, the pious and Christian mind will delight to contemplate the various causes which were preparing the way in England, for a religious revolution, not less remarkable, nor less beneficial, than that effected by Luther.

England had, for above three hundred years, been the most submissive part of Christendom to the Papal authority, and had been dealt with accordingly; for though the Parliaments, and two or three high spirited kings, had given some interruption to the cruel exactions and other illegal proceedings of the Court of Rome, yet that court generally gained their designs in the end. In Henry VIII. days, the crown was not indeed stripped of all its authority over spiritual persons, yet the too

great immunity of the Ecclesiastics had occasioned loud complaints, for which unfortunately good cause existed; as it was usual for persons, after the commission of the greatest crimes, to get into orders; and then, not only what was passed must be forgiven them, but they were not even to be questioned for any crime after holy orders given, till they were first degraded, previous to which they were the Bishop's prisoners.

From the days of King Edgar, the state of monkery had been increasing in England; for most of the secular clergy, being then married, and refusing to put away their wives, were, by Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Ethelwald, Bishop of Winchester, and Oswald, Bishop of Worcester, who were themselves Monks, turned out of their livings.

The Monks being thus settled in most Cathedrals of England, gave themselves up to idleness and pleasure, which had been long matter of complaint: now, however, that learning began to revive, they, being every where possessed of the best Church benefices, were regarded by all learned men with an evil eye, as having in their hands the chief encouragements of learning, and yet doing nothing towards it; but, on the contrary, decrying and disparaging it all they could, saying, "It would bring in heresy, and a great deal of mischief." The restorers of learning, however, such as Erasmus, Vives, and others, did not spare them, but exposed their ignorance and misconduct to the world.

From the days of Wickliffe there were many, in every part of the nation, that disliked most of the received doctrines, as well as the immoral practices of the Romish Church. The Clergy, moreover, had at that time become very hateful to the people; for as the Pope exacted heavily on them, so they, being oppressed, took every means possible to make the people repay what the Popes wrested from them.

Wickliffe being much encouraged and supported, had translated the Bible out of Latin into English, to which he prefixed a long Preface, in which he reflected severely on the corruptions of the Clergy, and condemned the worshipping of saints and images; denied the corporal presence of Christ's body in the Sacrament, and exhorted all people to the study of the Scrip-

tures. His Bible, with this Preface, was well received by many, who imbibed these opinions, rather by the impressions which common sense and plain reason made on them, than by any deep speculation or study. For the followers of his doctrine were generally illiterate and uneducated men; some few of the Clergy, indeed, had joined them, but not being formed into any body or association, these were scattered over the kingdom, holding their opinions in private, without making any public profession of them; generally they were known by their disparaging the superstitious Clergy, whose corruptions were then so notorious, and their cruelty so monstrous, that it is no wonder the people were deeply prejudiced against him.

As the reformed doctrines spread much in Germany, Switzerland, and the Netherlands, so the works of Luther, Melancthon, &c. came over into England, where there was much preparation of heart to receive them, not only by the prejudices people had conceived against the corrupt Clergy, but by the opinions of the Lollards, which had been now spreading in England since the days of Wickliffe, for about one hundred and fifty years, between which opinions, and the doctrines of the Reformers, there was great affinity; to give the better circulation to the books that came from Germany, many of them were translated into the English tongue, and were very much read and applauded.

This roused the jealous vigilance of the established Clergy, and quickened their proceedings against the Lollards, insomuch that great numbers were brought into the toils of the Bishops and their commissaries. If a man had spoken but a light word against any of the constitutions of the Church, he was immediately seized on by the Bishop's officers; and if any taught their children the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Apostles Creed, in the vulgar tongue, that was crime enough to bring them to the stake, as it did six men and a woman at Coventry, in Passion week, 1519. Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, was very cruel to all that were suspected of heresy in his diocese; several of them abjured, and some were burnt. But this severity did not produce what the authors designed by it. The Clergy did not correct their own

faults, and their cruelty was looked on as an evidence of guilt, and of a weak cause; the methods they adopted wrought, indeed, on people's fears, and made them more cautious and reserved, but did not at all remove the cause, nor work either on their reasons or affections; so that the growing cruelty, oppression, and ignorance of the Clergy had now effectually excited the just hatred of the people, whilst the enemies whom the wealth of the Church attempted to assail it, were far more dangerous than those who opposed its corrupt doctrines and superstitious practices. When, however, its wealth had once become an object of cupidity to the government, the enemies whom its corruptions had provoked, and its cruelties incensed, were ready to league with any allies against it, and reform and spoilation went hand in hand.

The accession of Henry VIII. to the throne of England, promised to the world a reign of splendour, popularity and peace. With every advantage of person, he united a high degree of bodily and mental accomplishment; his understanding was quick and vigorous, and his learning such as might have raised him to distinction, had he been born in humble life. Among the passions of Henry must be reckoned that which he had for the writings of Thomas Aquinas. His veneration for this vigorous champion of the Romish faith was carried so far, that Luther having contradicted St. Thomas with acumen, Henry thought himself bound to enter the lists in defence of his master. He, therefore, wrote a book or treatise, called, "*The Assertion of the Seven Sacraments against Luther*," who, with all the Reformers, admitted but of two. The Pope bestowed the most extravagant praises upon this work, a copy of which was presented to him in the year 1521, declaring that it should receive as honourable a testimony from the Holy See as the works of St. Augustine and St. Jerome. As a reward, he conferred upon Henry the title of "Defender of the Faith;" and to encourage the reading of the King's book, granted an Indulgence of ten years, which included permission to eat flesh during Lent, to all persons who should peruse it.

Notwithstanding all opposition, the opinions of the Reformers still gained more footing, and William Tindal made a



translation of the New Testament into English, to which he added some short notes. This was printed at Antwerp, and sent over into England in the year 1526. Against this an immediate prohibition was published by every Bishop in his diocese, stating that some of Luther's followers had erroneously translated the New Testament, and had corrupted the word of God, both by a false translation, and by heretical glosses; therefore, they required all incumbents to charge all within their parishes, that had any of these, to bring them unto the Vicar General within thirty days after the premonition, under the pains of excommunication, and incurring the suspicion of heresy.

King Henry, hitherto, had lived at ease, and in the enjoyment of pleasures. He had no anxieties except about the getting of money, and even in that his favourite, the Cardinal Wolsey, eased him. But now a domestic trouble arose, which perplexed all the rest of his government, and drew after it consequences of a highly important nature.

Henry VII. having resolved to form an intimate union with Ferdinand and Isabella, sovereigns of Castile and Arragon, and with the house of Burgundy, in opposition to France, a match was agreed on between his son, Prince Arthur, and Katherine, the Infanta of Spain, whose eldest sister Joan was married to Philip, the then Duke of Burgundy and Earl of Flanders, out of which arose a triple alliance between England, Spain, and Burgundy, against the King of France, who had become formidable to all about him. The Infanta was brought into England, and on the 14th of November, 1503, was married at St. Paul's to the Prince of Wales, who, however, died soon after.

Reasons of state requiring the keeping up the alliance against France, and the King being unwilling that so great a revenue as she had in jointure should be carried out of the kingdom, proposed, that the Infanta should be married to his younger son Henry, now Prince of Wales. The two Prelates that were then in greatest esteem with Henry, were Wareham, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Fox, Bishop of Winchester. The former delivered his opinion against the marriage, and

told the King that he thought it was neither honourable nor well pleasing to God. The Bishop of Winchester persuaded it; and as to the objections that were against it, and the murmurings of the people, who did not approve of a marriage that was disputable, lest out of it new wars, respecting the succession, should afterwards arise, the Pope's dispensation it was thought would be sufficient to remove them all; and, indeed, so undisputed was this plan that it did so effectually. A Bull was, therefore, obtained on the 26th of December, 1503, to this effect. "That the Pope, according to the greatness of his authority, having received a petition from Prince Henry and the Princess Katherine, bearing, That, whereas the Princess was lawfully married to Prince Arthur, who was dead without any issue; but they, being desirous to marry for preserving the peace between the crowns of England and Spain, did petition his Holiness for his dispensation; therefore, the Pope, out of his care to maintain peace among all Catholic Kings, did absolve them from all censures under which they might be, and dispensed with the impediment of their affinity, notwithstanding any apostolical constitutions or ordinances to the contrary, and gave them leave to marry; or, if they were already married, he, confirming it, required their Confessor to enjoin them some healthful penance for their having married before the dispensation was obtained." It was not surprizing that the Pope readily granted this Bull, for though Cardinals and Divines did then oppose it, yet the interest of the Papacy, which was preferred to all other considerations, required it. The Pope being a great enemy to Lewis, the King of France, would have done anything to consolidate the alliance against him; and being a warlike Pope, who considered religion very little, he was easily persuaded to confirm an act that necessarily obliged the succeeding Kings of England to maintain the Papal authority, since from it they derived their title to the crown; little anticipating that, by a secret direction of an overruling Providence, that very deed of his would occasion the extirpation of the Papal power in England. So wonderfully does God make the devices of men to become of no effect, turning them to a contrary end to that which is intended.

Upon the authority of this Bull they were married, the Prince of Wales being yet under age. But Wareham had so possessed the King with an aversion to this marriage, that on the same day that the Prince was of age, he, by his father's command, laid on him in the presence of many of the nobility and others, made a protestation in the hands of Fox, Bishop of Winchester, before a public Notary, and read it himself, by which he declared, "That whereas he being under age, was married to Princess Katherine, yet now coming to be of age, he did not confirm that marriage, but retracted and annulled it, and would not proceed in it, but intended in full form of law to void it and break it off," which he declared he did freely and of his own accord.

On the death of the King, one of the first things that came under consultation was, that Henry must either break his marriage totally, or conclude it. Arguments were brought on both hands, but those for it prevailed with the King; so, six weeks after he came to the crown, he was married again publicly, and soon after he and the Queen were both crowned.

Many years afterwards, on a projected marriage of the Princess Mary, the issue of this marriage, the Bishop of Tarbes, the French ambassador, made a great demur about the Princess Mary being illegitimate, as begotten in a marriage that was contracted against a Divine precept, with which, he asserted, no human authority could dispense. How far this was secretly concerted between the French court and ours, or between Wolsey and the Ambassador, is not known. It is surmised, that the King or the Cardinal set on the French to make this exception publicly, that so the King might have a better colour to justify his now projected suit of divorce, since other Princes were already questioning it.

Scruples about his marriage now began to take possession of Henry's mind. It is said that the Cardinal first infused them into him, and made Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, who was the King's Confessor, urge them in Confession.\* If it

\* It is generally admitted that the doubts, now excited, were originally suggested by Wolsey, because Katherine had censured his dissolute mode of

was so, the King had, according to the religion of that time, very just cause of scruple, when his Confessor judged his marriage sinful, and the Pope's Legate was of the same mind.

What were the King's secret motives, and the true grounds of his now growing aversion to the Queen, can only be known to God. It must be admitted that the strong passion which Henry conceived for Anna Boylen, one of the maids of honour to the Queen, and which her virtue rendered it impossible for him dishonourably to gratify, formed no improbable ground of his present uneasy feeling; and led him to attempt the dissolution of his marriage, as the only mode by which to obtain the object of his desire. But the reasons which he always owned, and of which all human judicatories only take notice, were these: he found by the law of Moses, "If a man took his brother's wife, they should die childless." This made him reflect on the death of his children, which he now regarded as a curse from God for his unlawful marriage. Upon this he set himself to study the case, and called for the judgments of the best divines and canonists. For his own inquiry, Thomas Aquinas being the writer in whose works he took most pleasure, and to whose judgment he submitted most, clearly decided against him. For he concluded, that the laws in Leviticus about the forbidden degrees of marriage were moral and eternal, such as obliged all Christians; and that the Pope could only dispense with the laws of the Church, and not with the laws of God, inasmuch as no law can be dispensed with by any authority but that which is equal to the authority by which it was enacted. Therefore, he infers that the Pope can indeed dispense with all the laws of the Church, but not

life, and because he hated the Emperor. "Of this trouble," said the Queen, "I only may thank my Lord Cardinal of York; for, because I have wondered at your high pride and vain glory, and abhor your voluptuous life, and little regard your presumptuous power and tyranny; therefore, of malice you have kindled this fire, and set this matter abroad, and in especial for the great malice you bear my nephew, the Emperor, whom I perfectly know you hate worse than a scorpion, because he would not satisfy your ambition, and make you Pope by force." Wolsey, who did nothing but with a circuitous mystery, appears to have so managed this affair, that the King himself did not suspect that he was its author.

with the laws of God, to whose authority he could not pretend to be equal. As the King found this from his own private study, he next commanded the Archbishop of Canterbury to require the opinions of the Bishops of England, who all, in a writing, under their hands and seals, declared they judged it an unlawful marriage, by which the King was convinced that his marriage was altogether illegal.

Henry apprehended the opposition of the Emperor who, either out of a principle of nature and honour would protect his aunt, or from a maxim of state, would create his enemy all the trouble he could at home. But, on the other hand, he had some cause to hope well even in that particular. For the question of the unlawfulness of the match had been first debated in the Cortes, at Madrid, and the Emperor had then shewn himself so favourable to it, that he had broke the match (to which he had bound himself) with the Princess; the King, therefore, had reason to think that this, at least, would mitigate his opposition. Moreover, the Emperor had used the Pope so hardly, that it could not be doubted but that the Pope hated him. And it was believed that he would find the protection of the King of England most necessary to secure him from the power of France or Spain, who were fighting for the best part of Italy, which must needs fall into one of their hands. So situated, the King did not doubt but the Pope would be compliant to his desires. And in this he was much confirmed by the hopes, or rather assurance, which the Cardinal gave him, of the Pope's favour, who, either calculating what was to be expected from that court, on the account of their own interest, or upon some promises made him, had undertaken to the King to bring the matter about according to his wishes. It is certain that Wolsey had carried over with him, out of the King's treasure, £240,000, to be employed about the Pope's liberty. But whether he had made a bargain for the divorce, or fancied that nothing could be denied him at Rome, does not appear. It is clear, by many of his letters, that he had undertaken to the King that the business should be done, and it is not likely that a man of his prudence would have committed himself without some good warrant.

But now that the matter was to be agitated in the Court of Rome, such arguments were to be used, as were likely to be heard there. It would have been unacceptable, to have insisted on the nullity of the Bull, because the matter of it was unlawful, and fell not within the Pope's power; for Popes, like other princes, are unwilling to hear the extent of their prerogative disputed, or defined—And to condemn the Bull of a former Pope as unlawful, was a dangerous precedent, at a time when the Pope's authority was rejected by so many in Germany. Therefore, the canonists as well as divines, were consulted, in order to find such nullities in the Bull of dispensation, as, according to the canon law, and the proceedings of the Rota, might serve to invalidate it, without any diminution of the Papal power.

The King resolving to bring the matter to an early issue, sent Dr. Knight, Secretary of State, to Rome; who, after great and high compliments, and assurances of reward, to engage the Pope to follow the business very vigorously, and with great diligence, stated the King's case to him; that partly by his own study, partly by the opinion of many divines, and other learned men, Henry found that he could no longer, with a good conscience, continue in that marriage with the Queen; having God and the quiet salvation of his soul chiefly before his eyes. And that he had consulted both the most learned divines and canonists, as well in his own dominions, as elsewhere, to know whether the Pope's dispensation could make it good; and that many of them thought the Pope could not dispense in this case of the first degree of affinity, which they esteemed forbidden, by a divine, moral and natural law; and all the rest concluded, that the Pope could not do it, but upon very weighty reasons, and they found not any such in the Bull. Therefore, they all concluded the dispensation to be of no force; moreover, the King looked on the death of his sons as a curse from God, and to avoid further judgments, he now desired help of the Apostolic See, to consider his case, to reflect on what he had merited by the services he had done the Papacy, and to find a way, that he, being divorced from his

Queen, might marry another wife, of whom, by the blessing of God, he might hope for issue male.

Knight was also instructed to express, a condolence of the miseries the Pope and Cardinals were in, both in the King's name, and in that of the Cardinal; and to assure the Pope, they would use the most effectual means that were possible for setting him at liberty, in which the Cardinal would employ as much industry, as if there were no other way to come to the Kingdom of Heaven, but by doing it. He was then to open more especially, the King's business to the Pope, the scruples of his conscience, the great danger of cruel wars upon so disputable a succession, the entreaties of all the nobility and the whole kingdom, with many other urgent reasons to obtain what was desired. He was also to lay before the Pope, the present condition of Christendom and of Italy, that he might consider of what importance it was to his own affairs, and to the Apostolic See, to engage the King so firmly to his interests, as this would certainly do; and to solicit that the Pope, without communicating the matter to any person, would freely grant it, and sign the various documents, which were therewith sent engrossed in due form. A dispensation was also sent in due form; and if these were expedited, he was to assure the Pope that as the King had sent over a vast sum to the French King, for paying his army in Italy, so he would spare no trouble nor treasure, but make war upon the Emperor in Flanders, with his whole strength, till he forced him to set the Pope at liberty, and restore the state of the Church to its former power and dignity.

He was also to represent to the Pope, that the King would look upon a delay as a denial, and if the Pope inclined to consult any of the Cardinals, he was to address himself to them, and partly by informing them of the reasons of the King's cause, and partly by rewarding the good offices they should do, he was to engage them to the King's interest.

In this whole matter, the Pope behaved as a cautious and politic prince, who considered his interest, and provided against all dangers with great foresight; but as for Apostolical

wisdom, and the simplicity of the Gospel, these were not to be expected from him ; for, though the high sounding names of Christ's Vicar, and St. Peter's successor, were still retained to keep up the Pope's dignity and authority, yet they had, for many ages, governed themselves as secular princes ; so that the maxims of that court, were not to keep a good conscience, and to proceed according to the rules of the Gospel, and the practice of the primitive Church, committing the event to God, and submitting to his will in all things, but the keeping a balance, the maintaining their interest in the courts of princes, the securing their dominions, and the raising their families into influence and wealth.

Clement was now in the utmost perplexity. Queen Katharine was aunt to the Emperor, who had lately made him a prisoner, and whose resentment he dreaded to rekindle, by thus injuring so near a relation ; he frankly acknowledged, that as long as the Imperial forces commanded Italy, he, though not now personally in a dungeon, was substantially a prisoner ; and that if he signed the documents transmitted to him, it would make the Emperor his perpetual enemy, without any hope of reconciliation. It was the Imperial rod which was hanging over the head of Clement, from which he had suffered, and which the English government could not take away, and not his conviction or his conscience that made him resist Henry's wishes. As we read the account of the various interviews and discussions with the English Ambassadors, we cannot but feel for the unfortunate Pope. He would not have hesitated to have granted the divorce, if they could have destroyed or removed the Imperial armies that endangered him. It is obvious, that neither morality, religion, nor law, was influencing his mind, in delaying or withholding the divorce. He never made his opposition a matter of conscience ; besides he could not, in honour, declare the Bull of a former Pope illicit, for this would be entirely destroying the Papal infallibility. On the other hand, Henry was his protector and friend ; the dominions of England were the chief resources of his finances ; and the King of France, some time before, had got a bill of divorce in somewhat similar circumstances. In this



exigence, he thought the best method was to spin out the affair by negotiation ; and thus he argued, temporised, promised, recanted, and disputed, hoping that the King's passion would never hold out during the tedious course of an ecclesiastical controversy. During the negotiations, on which Henry's happiness seemed to depend, he expected in his favourite Wolsey, a warm defender and a steady adherent ; but Wolsey seemed to be in as great a dilemma, as the Pope himself. On the one hand, he was to please his master, the King, from whom he had received many marks of favour ; on the other hand, he could not disoblige the Pope, whose servant he more immediately was, and who had power to punish his disobedience. The King's resentment was greatly excited against the Cardinal, who, being arrested for some treasonable practices, died soon after, in all the pangs of repentance and remorse, and left not life, which he had rendered turbid by ambition, till he found that all his ambition was but vanity at the last.

An unlooked-for accident at this time, put a stop to all proceedings in the Court of Rome. For, on Epiphany-day, the Pope was taken ill at mass, on which followed all the secret caballings and intrigues, which are ordinary in that court upon such an occasion.

On the Pope's recovery, he inclined to join himself to the Emperor more than ever, and was more alienated than formerly from the King and Wolsey, which, perhaps, was increased by the distaste he took at the Cardinal's having aspired to the Popedom.

While the King's thoughts were thus divided, a new proposition was made to him, that seemed the most reasonable and feasible of all.

There was one Dr. Cranmer, who had been a Fellow of Jesus College in Cambridge, then resident at the house of Mr. Cressy, of Waltham Cross, where he was when the King lay a night there. Gardiner and Fox, the King's secretary and almoner, being also appointed to lie at Mr. Cressy's house, it so happened, that Cranmer was with them at supper. The whole discourse of England being then about the divorce,

these two courtiers, knowing Cranmer's learning and sound judgment, entertained him with it, and desired to hear his opinion concerning it. He modestly declined it; but told them, that he judged it would be a shorter and safer way once to clear it well, if the marriage was unlawful in itself, by virtue of any divine precept: for, if that were proved, it was certain, that the Pope's dispensation could be of no force, to make that lawful, which God had declared to be unlawful. Therefore, he thought, that instead of a long fruitless negotiation at Rome, it were better to consult all the learned men, and the Universities of Christendom; for if they once declared in the King's favour, then the Pope must give judgment; or otherwise, the Bull being of itself null and void, the marriage would be found sinful, notwithstanding the Pope's dispensation. The King was much affected with this opinion, so soon as he heard it, and said had he known it sooner, it would have saved him a vast expence and much trouble; and he would needs have Cranmer sent for to court, saying, in his coarse way of speaking, "that he had the sow by the right ear."

After Cranmer had discoursed with the King about this proposition, he was commanded by him to write a book for his opinion, and confirm it with as much authority as he could.

It being thought best to begin at home; the King wrote to the two Universities in England, to send him their determinations concerning it, and they, on the 8th of April, 1530, put the common seal of the University to an instrument, declaring the marriage of the brother's wife, to be contrary to the laws of God and nature: thus it was at length determined, though not without opposition, that the King's marriage was against the law of God. For the Jewish laws on this point, are still in force, and that they bind all, both Christians and Infidels, being parts of the law of nature, as well as of the law of God; and, therefore, they judged marriages in these degrees unlawful, and that the Pope had no authority to dispense with them. The Universities of Padua, Orleans, and

Thoulouse, determined to the same purpose. At Ferrara, the divines also confirmed the same conclusion.

The great and celebrated faculty of the Sorbonne (whose conclusions had been looked on for some ages as little inferior to the decrees of Councils) made their decision with all possible solemnity and decency. They first met at the Church of St. Mathurin, where there was a mass of the Holy Ghost, and every one took an oath to study the question, and resolve it according to his conscience, and from the 8th of June, to the 2nd of July, they continued searching the matter with all possible diligence, both out of the Scriptures, the Fathers, and the Councils, and had many disputes about it. After which, the greater part of the faculty determined, "that the King of England's marriage was unlawful, and that the Pope had no power to dispense in it." To the same purpose, did both the faculties of the law, civil and canon, at Angiers, determine, the 7th of May. On the 10th of June, the faculty of divinity at Bourges came to the same determination.

Zuinglius's letter is very full. First, he largely proves, that neither the Pope nor any other power could dispense with the law of God; then that the Apostles had made no new laws about marriage, but had left it as they found it; that the marrying within near degrees, was hated by the Greeks, and other heathen nations. But whereas Grineus seemed to be of opinion, that though the marriage was ill made, yet it ought not to be dissolved, and inclined rather to advise that the King should take another wife, keeping the Queen still, Zuinglius confutes that, and says, if the marriage be against the law of God, it ought to be dissolved; but concludes, the Queen should be put away honourably, and still used as a Queen; and the marriage should only be dissolved for the future, without illegitimizing the issue begotten in it, since it had gone on in a public way, upon a received error, but advises, that the King should proceed in a judiciary way, and not establish so ill a precedent, as to put away his Queen and take another, without due form of law.

Calvin was clear in his judgment, that the marriage was

null, and that the King ought to put away the Queen, upon the law of Leviticus. And whereas it was objected, that the law is only meant of marrying the brother's wife, while he is yet alive; he shews, that could not be admitted, for all the prohibited degrees being forbidden in the same style, they they were all to be understood in one sense; therefore, since it is confessed, that it is unlawful to marry in the other degrees, after the death of the father, son, uncle, or nephew, so it must be also a sin to marry the brother's wife after his death.

A letter was now addressed to the Pope, signed by Wolsey, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and several noblemen; the contents of which were, that their near relation to the King, made them address thus to the Pope. "The King's cause was now, in the opinion of the learned men and Universities, both in England, France, and Italy, found just, which ought to prevail so far with the Pope, that though none moved in it, and notwithstanding any contradiction, he ought to confirm their judgment; especially it touching a King and kingdom, to whom he was so much obliged. But since neither the justice of the cause, nor the King's most earnest desires, had prevailed with him, they were all forced to complain of that strange usage of their King, who both by his authority, and with his pen, had supported the Apostolic See, and the Catholic faith, and yet was now denied justice. From which they apprehended great mischief and civil wars, which could only be prevented by the King's marrying another wife, of whom he might have issue. This could not be done, till his present marriage was annulled. And if the Pope would still refuse to do this, they must conclude, that they were abandoned by him, and so seek for other remedies. This they most earnestly prayed him to prevent, since they did not desire to go to extremities, till there was no more to be hoped for at his hands." To this, the Pope made answer the 27th of September.

"He took notice of the vehemency of their letter, which he forgave them, imputing it to their great affection to their King; they had charged him with ingratitude and injustice, two grievous imputations. He acknowledged all they wrote,

of the obligations he owed to their King, which were far greater than they called them, both on the Apostolic See, and himself in particular. But he must not precipitate a sentence in a cause of such high importance, till all things were fully heard and considered. He wished their King might have male issue, but he was not in God's stead to give it. And for their threatenings of seeking other remedies, they were neither agreeable to their wisdom, nor to their religion. Therefore, he admonished them to abstain from such counsels, but minded them, that it is not the physician's fault, if the patient will do himself hurt. He knew the King would never like such courses, and though he had a just value for their intercession, yet he considered the King much more, to whom, as he had never denied anything that he could grant with his honour, so he was very desirous to examine this matter, and to put it to a speedy issue, and would do every thing that he could without offending God."

The negociation being prolonged without prospect of a favourable termination, Henry married Anne Boleyn, on the 14th of November, 1532, upon his landing in England. It was done secretly in the presence of the Duke of Norfolk, and her father, her mother, and brother. The grounds on which the King did this, were, that his former marriage being of itself null, there was no need of a declarative sentence after so many universities and doctors had given their judgments against it.

On the death of Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, the King saw how important it was to the designs he was then forming, to fill that See with a learned, prudent, and resolute man; but finding none in the episcopal order, that was qualified to his mind, and having observed a native simplicity joined with much courage, and tempered with a great deal of wisdom, in Dr. Cranmer, who was then negotiating his business among the learned men of Germany, he, of his own accord, without any application from Cranmer, determined to raise him to that dignity. But Cranmer, on receiving intimation of this design, did all he could to excuse himself from the burden which was about to be imposed on him. But the

King, (who had known well what it was to be importuned by ambitious and aspiring Churchmen, but had not found it usual that they should decline and fly from preferment) was thereby confirmed in his high opinion of him ; and neither the delays of his journey, nor his entreaties to be delivered from a burden, which his humility made him imagine himself unable to bear, could alter the King's mind. So that, after the lapse of six months, he was forced to yield.

The Convocation then sitting, finally decided in favour of the divorce, recognizing the illegality of the King's marriage with Katherine.

The Church of England having by her representatives made such a full decision, nothing remained but to give judgment, and to declare the marriage null : before they proceeded to that, a message was sent to the Queen, to lay all that had passed before her, and to desire her to acquiesce in the opinions of so many Universities and learned men. But she still persisted in her resolution to own her marriage, and to adhere to her appeal, till the Pope should judge in it. And when it was told her, that the King would settle the jointure that she was to have by his brother, and that the honour of Princess of Wales, should still be paid her ; she rejected it.

The new Queen being pregnant with a daughter, to whom she gave birth on the 7th of September following, the King thought it fit no longer to conceal his marriage ; so on Easter Eve, Anna Boleyn was declared Queen of England.

A Citation was now issued, for the appearance of the King and Queen, before the Archbishop, at Dunstable, when the King appeared by proxy, but the Queen refused to attend. Upon which she was declared contumacious ; and the whole merits of the cause being opened, sentence was given on the 23rd of May, with the advice of all that were present, declaring it only to have been a marriage *de facto*, but not *de jure*, and pronouncing it null from the beginning. Sentence being given, the Archbishop, with all the rest, returned to London, and five days after, on the 28th of May, at Lambeth, by another judgment, he, in general words, (no reasons being given in the sentence,) confirmed the King's marriage with the new

Queen Anne; and on the 1st of June, she was crowned Queen.

The Pope roused by these proceedings, now issued a Bull condemning the Acts of the English King, and declaring Queen Katherine alone to be Henry's lawful wife, and requiring him to take her again, with a denunciation of censures in case of refusal.

The meanest sovereign in Europe could not have submitted to such a prostration of all dignity, as to obey a mandate like this: the poorest subject, from the common feelings of a man, would have resisted it, and irreconcilable hostilities alone could now be expected to follow.

Henry, enraged that the Pope should dare to thwart his love, declared himself at once Head of the Church of England, and prohibited all intercourse with the Court of Rome, and the interference of the Pope in the collation to Benefices. He also interdicted the future payment of those large sums of money, which were every year exacted from England, and remitted to Rome, on several accounts.\*

\* These are thus stated by Fuller, and other historians, but the exact amount levied cannot be ascertained. 1. Sums paid for consecrated trinkets; these were a considerable article of traffic. 2. Annates, or a sum of money considered equal to one year's income, and paid by the Bishops and inferior Clergy, on being appointed to their diocese and livings. The Annates were originally paid by the Clergy, to assist in defending Christendom against infidelity, but were afterwards collected by the Pope for himself. 800,000 ducats, equal to nearly *three millions of our money*, had been remitted to Rome on this account only, since the beginning of the preceding reign. 3. By appeals: all important controversies being referred to the Pope for decision. 4. An annual pension of 300 marks, first given to the Pope, in the year 852. 5. Dispersations. 6. Indulgences. 7. Pardons: the sums levied by these means, were enormous, and supported a vast tribe of idle and rapacious officers, who are described by Chaucer and other writers. 8. Sums levied whenever a Legate was sent to England. 9. Mortuaries due at the death of Prelates. 10. Peter-pence, first granted by Ina, King of the West Saxons, to Pope Gregory the Second, A. D. 626. This was a penny paid for every chimney, and, at a low estimate, amounted to £7,500 per annum: fully equal to £70,000 in our days. 11. The sums spent by English Pilgrims in visiting Rome, and other holy places on the continent, which, probably, were not much less in value, than the amount now expended by British travellers. 12. The tenths, or the tenth part of the sums received by the Clergy as tithes. These enor-

Upon the whole matter, men now judged, that the Pope's power in England, had no good foundation ; that it had been managed with as much tyranny, as it had begun with usurpation ; so that there was no other remedy, but to extirpate their pretended authority, and thenceforth to acknowledge the Pope only Bishop of Rome, and for the King to re-assume his own authority, and the just prerogatives of his crown.

On the 20th of March, an Act was passed for discharging the subjects of all dependence on the Court of Rome. In the preamble, the intolerable exactions for Peter-pence, provisions, pensions, and Bulls of all sorts, are complained of, which were contrary to all laws, and grounded only on the Pope's power of dispensing, which was usurped. But the King, and the Lords and Commons within his own realm, had only power to consider how any of the laws were to be dispensed with or abrogated ; and since the King was acknowledged the Supreme Head of the Church of England, by the Prelates and Clergy in their convocations ; therefore, it was enacted, that all payments made to the Apostolic Chamber, and all provisions, Bulls, or dispensations should thenceforth cease.

It was also declared, that they did not hereby intend to vary from Christ's Church, about the articles of the Catholic faith of Christendom, or in any other things declared by the Scriptures, and the word of God, necessary for their salvation, confirming withal the exemptions of monasteries formerly granted by the Bishop of Rome, exempting them still from the Archbishop's visitations ; declaring, that such abbeys, whose elections were formerly confirmed by the Pope, shall be now confirmed by the King, who likewise shall give commission under his great seal for visiting them ; providing also, that licences and other writs obtained from Rome before the 12th of March in that year, should be valid and in force, except they were

ious exactions, paid without any benefit in return, were a perpetual burthen upon the kingdom, and impoverished it in a manner we cannot fully estimate. To the above particulars, must be added the annual income of the Bishoprics, and other Ecclesiastical preferments held by foreigners, who always resided abroad. In the reign of Henry III., the amount thus received by Italians, was more than *three times* the amount of the *King's Revenues*.



contrary to the laws of the realm; giving also to the King and his Council, power to order and reform all indulgences and privileges (or the abuses of them) which had been granted by the See of Rome.

The offenders against this act were to be punished according to the statutes of provisors and *proemunire*. This Act as it gave great ease to the subject, so it cut off that base trade of indulgences about Divine Laws, which had formerly been so gainful to the Church of Rome, but was of late so fatal to it. Those that favoured the Reformation, rejoiced at this act, not only because the Pope's power was rooted out, but because the faith that was to be adhered to, was to be taken from those things which the Scriptures declared necessary to salvation; so that all their fears were now much qualified, since the Scripture was to be the standard of the Catholic faith. On the same day that this bill was passed in the House of Lords, another bill was read for confirming the succession to the crown, in the issue of the King's present marriage with Queen Anne.

Religion, it will be observed, had really no influence in the minds of the King or Pope, in the object, conduct, or termination of this great contest. Both were equally prejudiced and bigotted Catholics: both hated, and at that time persecuted the Reformers. Human passions and worldly interests commenced, continued, and decided it. Separation from the Papacy, was not, at first, in the contemplation, nor until driven to it by the failure of every other conceivable *succedaneum*, was it, even at the last, in the desire of the English King.

The separation from Rome, was made in the former session of parliament, but the King's supremacy was not yet fully settled. This was reserved for the next session, that sate in November, 1534. The first act confirmed what had been already acknowledged by the Clergy, "that the King was the Supreme Head on earth, of the Church of England, which was to be annexed to his other titles;" it was also enacted, "that the King, and his heirs and successors, should have power to visit and reform all heresies, errors, and other abuses, which in the spiritual jurisdiction ought to be reformed.

In another act, among other things that were made treason, one was, the denying the title, or name, of his estate royal, or the calling the King heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel, or usurper of the crown. This was done to restrain the insolence of some friars, and all such offenders were to be denied the privileges of sanctuaries.

Wolsey was no persecutor of heretics, but as soon as More came into favour, he pressed the King much to put the laws against heretics in execution, and suggested, that the Court of Rome would be more wrought upon, by the King's supporting the Church, and defending the faith vigorously, than by threatenings; and, therefore, a long proclamation was issued out against the heretics, many of their books were prohibited, and all the laws against them were appointed to be put in execution, and great care was taken to seize such as fled from Germany into England.

Children were now compelled to accuse their parents, and parents their children; wives their husbands, and husbands their wives, unless they would share the same fate. The poor wretches, who saved their lives by abjuration, were under the name of perpetual penance, condemned to perpetual bondage, being distributed to monasteries, beyond the precincts of which they were never to pass, and where, by their labour they were to indemnify the convent for their share of such food as was regularly bestowed as charity at the gate. The mark of the branding iron they were never to conceal; they were to bear a faggot at stated periods, and once at the burning of a heretic; for which every one who contributed a faggot, was rewarded with forty day's indulgence.

Among the martyrs of those days, Thomas Bilney is one whose name will ever be held in deserved reverence. He had been brought up from a child at Cambridge, where, laying aside the profession of both laws, he entered upon what was then the dangerous study of divinity; and being troubled in mind, repaired to priests, who enjoined him masses, fasting, watching, and the purchase of indulgences, till his scanty purse and feeble constitution, were both well nigh exhausted. At this time, hearing the New Testament, which Erasmus had

just published, praised for its Latinity, he bought it for that inducement only, and opened it upon a text, which finding his heart open, rooted itself there : " This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world, to save sinners, of whom I am chief." The comfort which these words conveyed, was confirmed by the frequent perusal of a book, which now became sweeter than honey, or the honey-comb ; and he began to preach as he had learnt, that men should seek for righteousness by faith. It was not long before he was accused before Cuthbert Tonstal, then Bishop of London, a man of integrity and moderation, though compelled to bear a part in proceedings which were utterly abhorrent to his natural disposition. The main accusations against him were, that he asserted Christ was our only mediator, not the Virgin Mary, nor the Saints ; that pilgrimages were useless ; and that offerings to images were idolatry. Of these doctrines, he was found guilty.

After several conversations with Bilney, and permitting him to have repeated conferences with his friends, on the 7th of December, the Bishop prevailed on him to revoke the opinions of which he was accused, and he was released, after carrying a faggot in procession, and standing before the preacher at St. Paul's Cross, during the sermon. After having abjured, Bilney returned to Cambridge, deeply repenting and sorrowing for his weakness. For two years, he continued to lament his recantation, and at length, was enabled by the grace of God, to resolve to lay down his life for that truth, which he had, in a moment of weakness, been persuaded to renounce. Having fully determined upon this course, in the year 1531, he one night took leave of his friends at Trinity Hall, telling them that he would go up to Jerusalem ; (see Acts xix. 21. xx. 22.) and immediately departed from Cambridge to Norfolk ; here he preached openly, confessing that he had done wrong, declaring that the doctrines he had abjured, were the truth. Upon this he was apprehended, and carried to prison, and kept there until the Bishop sent up for a writ, to burn him as a relapsed heretic.

The Sheriff, to whose custody he was now delivered, hap-

pened to be one of his friends, and therefore treated him with every kindness, which could be afforded during his imprisonment. The night before he was to suffer, some friends who visited him, found him at supper, eating heartily, and with a cheerful countenance ; and one of them saying he was glad to see him refresh himself thus, so shortly before he was to undergo so painful a death, he replied, " I follow the example of those, who, having a ruinous house to dwell in, hold it up by props as long as they may." Another observed, that his pains would be short, and the spirit of God would support him in them, and reward him afterwards with everlasting rest. Bilney, upon this, put his finger into the candle, which was burning before him, more than once. " I feel," said he, " by experience, and have long known by philosophy, that fire is naturally hot ; yet, I am persuaded by God's holy word, and by the experience of some Saints of God therein recorded, that in the flames they may feel no heat, and in the fire no consumption. And I constantly believe, that, however the stubble of this my body shall be wasted by it, yet my soul and spirit shall be purged thereby.....a pain for the time.....whereon followeth joy unspeakable." And then he repeated the words of Scripture ; " fear not, for I have redeemed thee, and called thee by thy name ; thou art mine own. When thou goest through the water, I will be with thee, and the strong floods shall not overflow thee. When thou walkest in the fire, thou shalt not be consumed, and the flame shall not burn thee ; for I am the Lord thy God, the Holy One of Israel, thy Saviour !" This text, he applied to himself, and those who were present, some of whom, receiving the words as the legacy of a blessed martyr, had them fairly written on tables, or in books, and derived comfort from them till their dying day.

On the following morning, he was led to execution. One of his friends exhorting him at the prison door, with few and secret words, to take his death patiently and constantly ; Bilney answered, " When the mariner is tossed upon the troubled sea, he beareth his perils better, in hope that he shall yet reach his harbour ; so whatever storms I shall feel, my ship will soon be in its quiet haven ; thereof, I doubt not, by

the grace of God,.....and I entreat you, help me with your prayers, to the same effect." The place of execution was a low valley, surrounded with rising ground, without the Bishop's Gate. Having put off the Layman's gown, in which, after his degradation, he had been clad, he knelt upon the ledge, and prayed with deep and quiet devotion, ending with the 143rd Psalm ; in which he thrice repeated the verse, "Enter not into judgment with thy servant, O Lord, for in thy sight, shall no man living be justified." He then put off his jacket and doublet, and remained in his hose and shirt, and so was chained to the stake. Some friars came to him, and said the people imputed his death to them. The dry reeds were then kindled, and in a few minutes, Bilney, triumphing over death, rendered up his soul in the fullness of faith, and entered into his reward.

The kingdom at this time, was in some measure divided between those who remained still attached to the old superstitions, and those who favoured the changes which were now in progress.

There were some at Antwerp, Tindal, Joye, Constantine, with a few more, that were every year writing and printing new books, chiefly against the corruptions of the Clergy, the superstition of pilgrimages, of worshipping images, saints and relics, and against relying on these things, which were then called, in the common style, good works ; in opposition to which, they wrote much about faith in Christ, ever accompanied by a true evangelical obedience, as the only means by which men could be saved. The book, however, that had the greatest authority and influence, was Tindal's\* translation of

\* This was, in its effects upon the nation, the most important volume that ever issued from the press. It was completed under the patronage of Humphrey Monmouth, a wealthy citizen, by whose assistance Tindal travelled into Germany, and there conferred with Luther, and others of the great Protestant Divines. Tindal had perceived that it was impossible to establish the people in any truth, except the Scriptures were plainly laid before them in their mother tongue, that they might thus see the order, process, and meaning of the text. The Romanists, on the other hand, understood perfectly well, how little the practice of their Church, was supported by the Scriptures, and that if the *Ark of the Covenant* was admitted, *Dagon* must fall.

the New Testament, of which the Bishops made great complaints, and said, it was full of errors. But Tonsal, then Bishop of London, being a man of invincible moderation, would do nobody hurt, yet endeavoured, as he could, to get their books into his hands: so being at Antwerp in the year 1529, as he returned from his embassy at the treaty of Cambray, he sent for one Packington, an English merchant there, and desired him to see how many New Testaments of Tindal's translation he might have for money. Packington, who was a secret favourer of Tindal, told him what the Bishop proposed: Tindal was very glad of it, for, being convinced of some faults in his work, he was designing a new and more correct edition; but he was poor, and the former impression not being sold off, he could not go about it, so he gave Packington all the copies that lay in his hands, for which the Bishop paid the price, and brought them over, and burnt them publicly in Cheapside. This had such an hateful appearance in it, being generally called a burning of the Word of God, that people from thence concluded there must be a visible contrariety, between that book and the doctrines of those who so handled it, by which both their prejudice against the Clergy, and their desire of reading the New Testament, were increased. So that next year, when the second edition was finished, many more were brought over, and Constantine being taken in England, the Lord Chancellor, in a private examination, promised him that no hurt should be done him, if he would reveal who encouraged and supported them at Antwerp, which he accepting, said, that the greatest encouragement they had, was from the Bishop of London, who had bought up half the impression. This made all that heard it, laugh heartily; though more judicious persons discerned the great temper of that learned Bishop in it. When the Clergy condemned Tindal's translation of the New Testament, they declared they intended to set out a true translation of it, which many thought was never truly designed by them, but only pretended, that they might restrain the curiosity of seeing Tindal's work, with the hopes of one that should be authorized: and as they made no progress in it, so at length on the 24th of

May, anno 1530, there was a paper drawn and agreed to, by Archbishop Warham, Chancellor More, Bishop Tonstal, and many canonists and divines, which every incumbent was commanded to read to his parish, as a warning to prevent the contagion of heresy. The contents of which were, that the King having called together many of the Prelates, with other learned men out of both Universities, to examine some books lately set out in the English tongue, they had agreed to condemn them, as containing several points of heresy in them, and it being proposed to them, whether it was necessary to set forth the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, they were of opinion, that though it had been sometimes done, yet it was not necessary, and that the King did well, not to set it out at that time in the English tongue. So by this, all the hopes of a translation of the Scriptures vanished.

Crome and Latimer were brought before the Convocation, in 1534, and accused of heresy. They both subscribed the articles offered to them, viz. "That there was a purgatory; that the souls in it were profited by masses said for them; that the saints are now in Heaven, and as mediators pray for us; that men ought to pray to them and honour them; that pilgrimages were pious and meritorious; that men who vowed chastity might not marry without the Pope's dispensation; that the keys of binding and loosing were given to St. Peter, and to his successors, though their lives were bad, and not at all to the laity; that men merited by prayers, fasting, and other good works; that Priests, prohibited by the Bishop, should not preach till they were purged and restored; that the seven Sacraments conferred grace; that consecrations and benedictions used by the Church were good; that it was good and profitable to set up the images of Christ and the saints in the Churches, and to adore them, and burn candles before them; and that Kings were not obliged to give their people the Scriptures in a vulgar tongue." By these articles it may be easily collected what were the doctrines then preached by the Reformers.

There was yet no dispute about the presence of Christ in the Sacrament, which was first called in question by Frith;

for the books of Zuinglius and Œcolampadius came later into England, and hitherto they had only seen Luther's works, with those written by his followers.

In the year 1533, it was thought fit, by some signal evidence, to convince the world that the King did not design to change the established religion, though he had then proceeded far in his breach with Rome; and the crafty Bishop of Winchester, Gardiner, as he complied with the King in his second marriage and separation from Rome, so, being an inveterate enemy to the Reformation, and in his heart addicted to the Court of Rome, did often prevail with the King to punish the heretics, saying that it would most effectually justify his other proceedings, and convince the world that he was still a good Catholic King; and at this time the advance the King had made in his separation from the Pope, had given such courage to the new preachers, that they grew bolder, and more public in their assemblies.

John Frith had offended the advocates of the old religion by several writings; and, by a discourse which he wrote against the corporal presence of Christ in the Sacrament, had provoked the King, who continued to his death to believe that firmly. The substance of his argument was, "That Christ, in the Sacrament, gave eternal life, but the receiving the bare Sacrament did not give eternal life, since many took it to their damnation; therefore Christ's presence there was only felt by faith." This he further proved by the fathers before Christ, who did eat the same spiritual food, and drink of the rock, which was Christ, according to St. Paul; since then they and we communicate in the same thing, and it was certain that they did not eat Christ corporally, but fed by faith on a Messiah to come, as Christians do on a Messiah already come; therefore, we now do only communicate by faith. He also insisted much on the signification of the word Sacrament, from whence he concluded, "that the elements must be the mystical signs of Christ's body and blood, for if they were truly the flesh and blood of Christ, they should not be Sacraments." He also concluded that the ends of the Sacrament were these three, by a visible action to knit the society of Christians together in



one body; to be a means of conveying grace upon our due participating of them; and to be remembrances to stir up men to bless God for that unspeakable love which, in the death of Christ, appeared to mankind. To all these ends the corporal presence of Christ availed nothing, they being sufficiently answered by a mystical presence, yet he drew no other conclusion from these premises, but that the belief of the corporal presence in the Sacrament was no necessary article of our faith. This either flowed from his not having yet arrived at a sure persuasion in the matter, or that he chose in that modest style to encounter an opinion, of which the world was so fond, that to have opposed it in downright words would have excited prejudices against all that he could say.

Frith was apprehended in May, 1533, and kept in prison till the 20th of June, when he was brought before the Bishop of London, Gardiner and Longland sitting with him. They objected to him, his opinions about the Sacrament, and purgatory; he answered, that for the first he did not find ~~tran~~ substantiation in the Scriptures, nor in any approved authors, and, therefore, he would not admit any thing as an article of faith without clear and certain grounds, for he did not think the authority of the Church reached so far. As for purgatory, he said, a man consisted of two parts, his body and soul; his body was purged by sickness and other pains, and at last by death, and was not by their own doctrine sent to purgatory. And for the soul, it was purged through the word of God received by faith. So his confession was written down in these words. Item, "Frith thinketh and judgeth that there is no purgatory for the soul after that it is departed from the body, and as he thinketh herein, so hath he said, written, and defended; howbeit he thinketh neither part to be an article of faith, necessarily to be believed under pain of damnation." The Bishops, with the Doctors that stood about them, took much pains to make him change, but he told them that he could not be induced to believe that these were articles of faith. And when they threatened to proceed to a final sentence, he seemed not to be moved with it, but said, "Let judgment be done in righteousness." The Bishops, though

none of them were guilty of great tenderness, yet seemed to pity him much, and the Bishop of London professed he gave sentence with great grief of heart. In the end, he was judged an obstinate heretic, and was delivered to the secular power; and as there is one clause in this sentence which is not in many others, it is here set down. "Most earnestly requiring, in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that this execution and punishment, worthily to be done upon thee, may be so moderate that the rigour thereof be not too extreme, nor yet the gentleness too much mitigated, but that it may be to the salvation of thy soul, to the extirpation, terror, and conversion of heretics, and to the unity of the Catholic faith." This was thought a scorning of God and men, when those who knew that he was to be burnt, and intended it should be so, yet used such an obtestation by the bowels of Jesus Christ that the rigour might not be extreme.

When brought to the stake, Frith expressed much joy at his approaching martyrdom, and in a transport of it hugged the faggots in his arms, as the instruments that were to send him to his eternal rest. One Dr. Cook, a parson of London, called to the people, that they should not pray for him any more than they would do for a dog. At which Frith smiled, and prayed God to forgive him, so the fire was set to, and he was consumed to ashes. This was the last act of the Clergy's cruelty against men's lives, and it was much condemned, it being thought an unheard of barbarity thus to burn a moderate and learned young man, only because he would not acknowledge some of their doctrines to be articles of faith, and though his private judgment was against their tenets, yet he was not positive in it, any further than that he could not believe the contrary to be necessary to salvation. But the Clergy were now so bathed in blood that they seemed to have stripped themselves of those impressions of pity and compassion which are natural to mankind; they, therefore, held on in their severe courses, till an Act of Parliament effectually restrained them.

But the chief encouragement of the Reformers was from the Queen, who reigned in the King's heart as absolutely as he did over his subjects, and was a known favourer of them.

She took Shaxton and Latimer to be her chaplains, and soon after promoted them to the Bishoprics of Salisbury and Worcester, then vacant by the deprivation of Campegio and Ghinuccii, and in all other things cherished and protected them, and used her most effectual endeavours with the King to promote the Reformation. Next to her was Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, and a professed favourer of it, who, besides the authority of his character and See, was well fitted for carrying it on, being a very learned and industrious man. He was gentle in his whole behaviour, and though he was a man of too great candour and simplicity to be refined in the arts of policy, yet he managed his affairs with great prudence, which did so much recommend him to the King, that no slander was able to hurt him. Next him, or rather above him, was Cromwell, who was made the King's vicegerent in Ecclesiastical matters, a man of mean birth but noble qualities. He joined himself in a firm friendship to Cranmer, and promoted the Reformation very vigorously.

The King having passed through the perplexities of his suit of divorce, and having, with the concurrence both of his Clergy and Parliament, brought about what he had desired, seemed now to be at ease in his own dominions. His separation from the Papacy was not, at first, an object of desire to his mind, nor, until every attempt at an amicable arrangement had failed, did he even at the last consent to it. However he may have been abused for it by the Romish Clergy from that day to the present, no Sovereign has deserved more largely their admiration, for his long deference to the Papal See, for his persevering endeavours to keep in friendship with it, and for his unequalled patience in waiting to obtain it by solicitation, reasoning, and the course of events. What King can be adduced in history, of his power, spirit, and character, who after becoming so passionately in love in the year 1527, yet arrested the impulses of his natural impetuosity, and restrained his own wishes in the clearest object of human sympathy for nearly six years, until the end of January, 1533, before he broke through every confining bond, and gratified his affection by the marriage he had so long

sighed for. Instead of censuring his imputed vices for the measure, let steady impartiality admire the self-command which he had so long exerted; even the Pope had counselled him to take the same step at the commencement of the difficulties, but the King, with a self-government scarcely explicable in his imputed character, paused for six years, that he might, if possible, fulfil his own wishes in a way that would give universal satisfaction to the critical mind and moral feeling of Europe.

It is manifest that for six years after the divorce question began, Henry had no desire or intention of any religious reformation, and if Clement had not allowed the Emperor to have driven him, for political purposes, even more than from family pride, into a resistance, and into procedures against the King of England, which irritated and forced this Prince, for his own safety, into a fracture of the Roman influence and power in his dominions, the Papal supremacy would not in his reign have been abolished, nor that religious revolution have been favoured and effected, which at last was by slow degrees so far advanced in England by his deciding measures, as to be completed afterwards with less difficulty and better means. But as the hostilities of the Popedom against him roused him to new measures of defensive aggression, to avert or subdue what was endangering him, the conflict assumed the shape not merely of indicative but of deadly battle. The deposition of the King, or the downfall of the Papal power in Britain, became the visible alternative.

In October, 1535, began the great visitation of Monasteries, which was committed to several commissioners. The report of their great profligacy concurring with their secret practices against the King, both in the matter of his divorce and supremacy, made him willing to examine the truth of these reports, that, if they were found guilty of such scandals, they might lose their credit with the people, and occasion be afforded to the King to justify their suppression.

There were also two other motives that inclined the King to this determination. The one was, that apprehensive of a war with the Emperor, he judged it necessary to fortify his ports,

and to construct many havens and harbours. This was a matter of great charge, and as his own revenue could not defray it, so he had no mind, in their present temper, to lay heavy taxes on his subjects; the suppression of Monasteries appeared, therefore, the easiest way of raising money. He also intended to erect many more Bishopricks, to which Cranmer advised him much, that the extent of some dioceses being reduced within a narrower compass, Bishops might better discharge their duty, and oversee their flocks, according to the Scriptures and the primitive rules.

But Cranmer for another reason pressed the suppression of monasteries. He found that their foundations, and whole œconomy, was inconsistent with a full and true Reformation. For among the things to be reformed were those very abuses which were essential to their constitution, such as the belief of purgatory, of redeeming souls by masses, the worship of saints and images, and pilgrimages, and the like; and, therefore, those societies whose interest it was to oppose the Reformation, being once suppressed, he hoped upon new endowments and foundations, that new houses should have been erected at every Cathedral to be nurseries for that whole diocese, which he thought would be more suitable to the primitive use of Monasteries, and more profitable to the Church.

The great business of the Parliament, in 1536, was the suppressing the lesser Monasteries. The report which the visitors had made to the King being read in Parliament, represented the manners of these houses so odiously, that the act was easily carried. The preamble states, "That small religious houses, under the number of twelve persons, had been long and notoriously guilty of vicious and abominable living, and did much consume and waste their Churches, lands, and other things belonging to them, and that for above two hundred years there had been many visitations for reforming these abuses, but with no success, their vicious living increasing daily, so that except small houses were dissolved, and the religious put into greater monasteries, there could no Reformation be expected in that matter." Thus fell the lesser Abbeys, to the number of three hundred and seventy-six. In the con-

vocation, a motion was made of great consequence, that there should be a translation of the Bible in English, to be set up in all the Churches of England. The Clergy, when they caused Tindal's translation to be condemned and suppressed, gave out that they intended to make a translation into the vulgar tongue, yet it was afterwards, upon a long consultation, resolved, "that it was free for the Church to give the Bible in a vulgar tongue, or not, as they pleased, and that the King was not obliged to it, and, at that time, it was not at all expedient to do it." Upon this those that promoted the Reformation made great complaints, and said it was visible the Clergy knew there was an opposition between the Scriptures and their doctrine; that they had first condemned Wickliffe's translation, and then Tindal's, and though they ought to teach men the word of God, yet they did all they could to suppress it. It was now generally desired, that if there were just exceptions against what Tindal had done, these might be amended in a new translation. This was a reasonable thing, and sensibly affected all that heard it, who plainly concluded that those who denied the people the use of the Scriptures in their vulgar tongue, must do so knowing their own doctrine and practices to be inconsistent with it. Upon these grounds Cranmer, who was projecting the most effectual means for promoting a reformation of doctrine, moved in convocation, "that they should petition the King for leave to make a translation of the Bible." His arguments prevailing with the two houses of convocation, they petitioned the King, "that he would give order to some to set about it." To this great opposition was made at court. Some, on the one hand, told the King that a diversity of opinions would arise out of it, and that he could no more govern his subjects if he gave way to that. But, on the other hand, it was represented that nothing would make his supremacy so acceptable to the nation, and make the Pope more hateful, than to let them see that, whereas the Popes had governed them by a blind obedience, and kept them in darkness, the King brought them into light, and gave them the free use of the word of God. And nothing would more effectually extirpate the Pope's authority, and discover the impos-

tures of the Monks, than the Bible in English, in which all people might be able clearly to discern that there was no foundation for those things. These arguments, seconded by the influence which the Queen exercised over him, were so much considered by the King, that he gave directions for setting about it immediately: and it appears that the work was carried on with such zeal that, three years after this, it was printed at Paris. But this was the last public good act of the unfortunate Anna Boleyn, who, as she drew nearer to her end, abounded yet more and more in good works. She had distributed, in the last nine months of her life, between fourteen and fifteen thousand pounds to the poor, and was designing great and public good things.

The Queen had been Henry's wife three years, but at this time he entertained a secret love for Jane Seymour, who possessed all the charms both of beauty and youth in her person, and whose disposition was between the severe gravity of Queen Katherine and the gay pleasantness of Queen Anne. The Queen perceiving the alienation of the King's heart, used all possible means to recover that affection, of whose decay she was now sadly sensible. But her efforts were vain, for the King saw her no more with that affection and regard which she had formally inspired, but grew jealous, and ascribed her caresses to some criminal affections, of which he began to suspect her. Being arrested on suspicion of infidelity, she was carried into the Tower, "where she fell down on her knees and prayed God to help her, as she was not guilty of the thing for which she was accused." Her situation drew after it the common effects that follow persons under the frowns of power, for now all the court was against her, and every one was courting the rising Queen. Cranmer alone had not learned these arts; he had a better soul in him than to be capable of such baseness and ingratitude. He had been much obliged by Anna, of whom he had conceived a high opinion, and could not, therefore, easily receive ill impressions of her; yet knowing the King's temper, and that a downright justification of her would provoke him, he wrote to the King a letter on the 3rd of May, with all the softness that so tender a point re-

quired, in which he justified her, as far as was consistent with prudence and charity. But jealousy and the King's new affection had quite defaced all the remainders of esteem for his late beloved Queen, who was now, by an unheard of precedent, brought to the bar of the House of Lords, and indicted of high treason. The crimes charged on her were, "That she had procured her brother and other four persons to lie with her, which they had done often; that she had confessed to every one of them by themselves, that she loved them better than any person whatsoever, which was to the slander of the issue that was begotten between the King and her." The terror of offending the King so wrought on the Lords, that they found her and her brother guilty, and judgment was given that she should be burnt or beheaded at the King's pleasure. Yet all this did not satisfy the enraged monarch, who required that the marriage between him and her should be annulled, and the issue illegitimated. The two sentences that were passed upon the Queen, the one of attainder for adultery, the other of divorce, because of a pre-contract, did so contradict one another, that it was apparent one, if not both of them, must be unjust; for if the marriage between the King and her was null from the beginning, then, since she was not the King's wedded wife, there could be no adultery: and her marriage to the King was either a true marriage or not; if it was true, then the annulling of it was unjust, and if it was no true marriage, then the attainder was unjust, for there could be no breach of that faith which was not given; so that it is plain the King was resolved to be rid of her, and to illegitimate her daughter, and in the moment of his fury did not consider that the very method he took discovered the injustice of his proceedings against her. Two days after this she was ordered to be executed on the green on Tower Hill. A little before noon, on the 19th of May, 1536, she was brought to the scaffold, where she made a short speech to the multitude that came to look on the last scene of this fatal tragedy. She said "she was come to die as she was judged by the law; she would accuse none, nor say anything of the ground upon which she was judged. She prayed heartily for the King, and called him a most merciful



and gentle Prince, and that he had been always to her a good gentle sovereign lord, and if any would meddle with her cause, she required them to judge the best. And so she took her leave of them and of the world, and heartily desired they would pray for her." After she had been some time in her devotions, her last words being, "To Christ I commend my soul," her head was cut off by the hangman of Calais, who was brought over, as more expert at beheading than any in England.

At this time there came a new proposition from Rome, to try if the King would accommodate matters with the Pope. Pope Clement VII. having died two years before this, in the year 1534, was succeeded by Pope Paul III. He had, indeed, thundered out a most terrible sentence of deposition against the King, and designed to commit the execution of it to the Emperor, yet now when Queen Katherine and Queen Anne, who were the occasions of the rupture, were both out of the way, he thought it was a proper conjuncture to try if a reconciliation could be effected. But the King was now so entirely alienated from the Court of Rome, that to cut off all hopes of reconciliation, he procured two Acts to be passed in this Parliament. The one was for the utter extinguishing the authority of the Bishop of Rome.

The preamble of this first Act contains severe reflections on the Bishop of Rome, (whom some called the Pope) who "had long darkened God's word, that it might serve his pomp, glory, avarice, ambition, and tyranny, both upon the souls, bodies, and goods of all Christians, excluding Christ out of the rule of man's soul, and Princes out of their dominions, and had exacted in England great sums by dreams and vanities, and other superstitious ways. Upon these reasons his usurpations had been by law put down in this nation; yet many of his emissaries were still practising up and down the kingdom, and persuading people to acknowledge his pretended authority. Therefore, every person so offending after the last of July next to come, was to incur the pains of a premunire; and all officers, both civil and ecclesiastical, were commanded to make inquiry about *such offences* under several penalties.

The following Injunctions were now issued by the Convocation, "First, all Bishops and preachers must instruct the people to believe the whole Bible, and the three creeds, and interpret all things according to them, and in the very same words, and condemn all heresies contrary to them, particularly those condemned by the first four General Councils. Secondly, Of baptism; the people must be instructed that it is a Sacrament instituted by Christ, for the remission of sins, without which none could attain everlasting life, and that not only those of full age, but infants may and must be baptized, for the pardon of original sin, and obtaining the gift of the Holy Ghost, by which they became the sons of God. That none baptized ought to be baptized again. That the opinions of the anabaptists and Pelagians were detestable heresies, and that those of ripe age who desire baptism, must with it join repentance and contrition for their sins, with a firm belief of the articles of the faith. Thirdly, Concerning penance, they were to instruct the people that it was instituted by Christ, and was absolutely necessary to salvation. That it consisted of contrition, confession, and amendment of life, with exterior works of charity, which were the worthy fruits of penance. For contrition, it was an inward shame and sorrow for sin, because it is an offence against God, which provokes his displeasure. To this must be joined a faith of the mercy and goodness of God, whereby the penitent must hope that God will forgive him and repute him justified, and of the number of his elect children, **NOT FOR THE WORTHINESS OF ANY MERIT OR WORK DONE BY HIM, BUT FOR THE ONLY MERITS OF THE BLOOD AND PASSION OF OUR SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST.** That this faith is got and confirmed by the application of the promises of the Gospel, and the use of the Sacraments, and for that end confession to a Priest is necessary, if it may be had, whose absolution was instituted by Christ, to apply the promises of God's grace to the penitent; therefore, the people were to be taught that the absolution is spoken by an authority given by Christ in the Gospel to the Priest, and must be believed, as if it were spoken by God himself, according to our Saviour's words, and, therefore, none were to condemn auricular

confession, but use it for the comfort of their consciences. The people were also to be instructed that though God pardoned sin **ONLY** for the satisfaction of Christ, yet they must bring forth the **FRUITS** of penance, prayer, fasting, alms-deeds, with restitution and satisfaction for wrongs done to others, with other works of mercy and charity, and obedience to God's commandments, else they could not be saved; and that by doing these they should both obtain everlasting life, and mitigation of their afflictions in this present life, according to the Scriptures. Fourthly, As touching the Sacrament of the Altar, people were to be instructed, that under the forms of bread and wine, there was truly and substantially given the very same body of Christ that was born of the Virgin Mary, and, therefore, it was to be received with all reverence, every one duly examining himself, according to the words of St. Paul. Fifthly, The people were to be instructed, that justification signifieth remission of sins, and acceptation into the favour of God, that is to say, a perfect renovation in Christ. To the attaining which, they were to have contrition, faith, charity, which were both to concur in it and follow it, and, that the good works necessary to salvation were not only outward civil works, but the inward motions and graces of God's Holy Spirit, to dread, fear, and love him, to have firm confidence in God, to call upon him, and to have patience in all adversities, to hate sin, and have purposes and wills not to sin again, with such other motions and virtues, consenting and agreeable to the law of God." The other articles were about the ceremonies of the Church. *First, of IMAGES.* "The people were to be instructed that the use of these was warranted by the Scriptures, and that they served to represent to them good examples, and to stir up devotion, and, therefore, it was meet that they should stand in the Churches. But, that the people might not fall into such superstition as it was thought they had done in time past, they were to be taught to reform such abuses, lest idolatry might ensue; and then in censuring, kneeling, offering, or worshipping them, the people were to be instructed not to do it to the image, but to God and his honour." *Secondly,* "For the honouring of Saints, they were not to think

to attain these things at their hands, which were only obtained of God, but that they were to honour them as persons now in glory, to praise God for them, and imitate their virtues, and not fear to die for the truth, as many of them had done." Thirdly, "For praying to Saints, the people were to be taught that it was good to pray to them, to pray for, and with us. And to correct all superstitious abuses in this matter, they were to keep the days appointed by the Church for their memories, unless the King should lessen the number of them, which, if he did, it was to be obeyed. Fourthly, Of ceremonies. The people were to be taught that they were not to be condemned and cast away, but to be kept as good and laudable, having mystical significations in them, and being useful to lift up our minds to God. Such were the vestments in the worship of God, the sprinkling of holy water to put us in mind of our baptism, and the blood of Christ; giving holy bread, in sign of our union in Christ, and to remember us of the Sacrament; bearing candles on Candlemas-day, in remembrance that Christ was the spiritual light; giving ashes on Ash-Wednesday, to put us in mind of penance and of our mortality; bearing palms on Palm-Sunday, to shew our desire to receive Christ in our hearts, as he entered into Jerusalem; creeping to the Cross on Good Friday, and kissing it, in memory of his death, with the setting up the sepulchre on that day, the halloving the font, and other exorcisms and benedictions. And lastly, As to purgatory, they were to declare it good and charitable to pray for the souls departed, which was said to have continued in the Church from the beginning, and, therefore, the people were to be instructed, that it consisted well with the due order of charity, to pray for them, and to make others pray for them, in masses and exequies, and to give alms to them for that end. But since the place they were in, and the pains they suffered, were *uncertain by the Scripture*, we ought to remit them wholly to God's mercy, therefore all these abuses, were to be put away, which, under the pretence of purgatory, had been advanced, as if the Pope's pardons did deliver souls out of it, or masses said in certain places, or before certain images, had such efficiency, with other such like abuses."

These articles, in several places corrected and modified by the King's own hand, were signed by Cromwell, and the Archbishop of Canterbury and seventeen other Bishops, forty Abbots and Priors, and fifty Archdeacons and Proctors of the lower house of Convocation; and confirmed by the King, and by him ordered to be published with a preface.

On this occasion there was great variety of opinions. Those that desired reformation were glad to see so much effected, not doubting but this would make way for further changes. They rejoiced to see the Scriptures and the ancient Creeds made the standards of the faith, without mentioning any tradition, or the decrees of the Church. Then the foundation of Christian faith was truly stated, and the terms of the covenant between God and man in Christ were rightly opened, without the niceties of the schools of either side. Immediate worship of images and saints was also removed, and purgatory was declared *uncertain by the Scripture*. These were evidently great concessions, but the establishing the necessity of auricular confession, the corporal presence in the Sacrament, the retaining and reverencing of images, and the praying to saints, tended to lessen their joy; yet the cause of truth was promoted by discussion, whilst some grosser abuses were wholly taken away.

The dissolution of Monasteries, pursuant to the Act of Parliament, now proceeded with an unsparing hand. About ten thousand persons are represented as reduced to poverty, and to the necessity of self-exertion, only forty shillings in money and a gown being given to each. The income of the suppressed houses amounted to thirty-two thousand pounds, and the goods, plate, jewels, and other moveables, were valusd at a hundred thousand pounds; and it is said that the Commissioners were as careful to enrich themselves as to increase the King's revenue. The Churches and Cloisters were for the most part pulled down, and the lead, bells, and other materials were sold.

The religious persons that were undone went about complaining that what the piety of their ancestors had dedicated to God and his Saints, was now invaded and converted to

secular ends. The nobility and gentry, whose ancestors had founded or enriched these houses, and who provided for their younger children, or impoverished friends, by putting them into these sanctuaries, complained much of the prejudice they sustained by it. The people, that had been well entertained at the Abbots' tables, were sensible of their loss, for generally the Abbeys were houses of reception to travellers and strangers. The devout among them thought their friends must now lie in purgatory without relief, except they were at the charge to keep a priest, who should daily say mass for their souls. The poor that fed on their daily alms were deprived of that supply.

To these articles of faith were now added instructions that all ecclesiastical incumbents were, for a quarter of a year after that, once every Sunday, and ever after that, twice every quarter, to publish to the people, that the Bishop of Rome's usurped power, had no ground in the law of God, and, therefore, was on good reasons abolished in this kingdom, and that the King's power was by the law of God supreme over all dominions. And they were to do their uttermost endeavour to extirpate the Pope's authority, and to establish the King's. They were to declare the articles lately published and agreed to by the convocation, and to make the people know which of them were articles of faith, and which of them rules for the decent and politic order of the Church.

They were no more to extol images or relics for superstition or gain, nor to exhort people to make pilgrimages, as if blessings and good things were to be obtained of this or that saint or image. But instead of that, the people were to be instructed to apply themselves to the keeping of God's commandments and doing works of charity, and to believe that God was better served by them, when they stayed at home and provided for their families, than when they went pilgrimages, and that the monies laid out on these were better given to the poor. They were to exhort the people to teach their children the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments in English, and every incumbent was to explain these, one article a day, till the people were fully instructed in them. They must take care that the Sacraments and sacramentals be reve-

rently administered in their Parishes, from which, when at any time they were absent, they were to commit the cure to a learned and expert Curate, who might instruct the people in wholesome doctrine, that they may all see that their pastors did not pursue their own profits or interests so much as the glory of God and the good of their souls under their cure. They should not, except on urgent occasion, go to taverns or ale houses, nor sit too long at any sort of games after their meals, but give themselves to the study of the Scripture, or some other honest exercise, and remember that they must excel others in purity of life, and be examples to all others to live well and Christianly.

These regulations were equally ungrateful to the corrupt Clergy and to the Laity that adhered to the old doctrine. The very same opinions about pilgrimages, images, and departed saints, and instructing the people in the principles of the Christian religion in the vulgar tongue, for which the Lollards were, not long ago, either burnt, or forced to abjure them, were now set up by the King's authority. Moreover the great profit they made by their images, and relics, and the pilgrimages to them, were now taken away, and yet severe impositions, and heavy taxes were laid on them, their labour was increased, and they were subjected to many severities of life.

The Pope had long threatened to issue a Bull of deposition against Henry, but had hitherto delayed it, because of the displeasure which he knew it would occasion to other sovereigns. Henry's recent proceedings, however, put an end to this suspension, and the Bull was now fulminated, requiring the King and his accomplices to appear at Rome, and there give an account of their actions on pain of excommunication and rebellion; otherwise the Pope deprived him of his Crown, and them of their estates, and both, of Christian burial. He interdicted the kingdom; absolved his subjects and their vassals from all oaths and obligations to them; declared them infamous; called upon all nobles and others in his dominions to take arms against him, and required all kings, princes, and military persons, in virtue of the obedience which they owed the Apostolic See, to *make war against him, and make slaves of such of his subjects*

as they could seize. In his letters to the different Potentates which accompanied the Bull, he called Henry a heretic, a schismatic, a manifest adulterer, and public murderer, a rebel convicted of high treason against his Lord the Pope . . . . and he offered Henry's dominions to the King of Scotland if he would go and take them.

This Bull commands and decrees,

1. That Henry shall be deprived of all his dominions; and that he and his abettors have incurred all the pains prescribed by the Laws, and shall be deprived of Christian burial. The quantity of human slaughter by which all this was to be accomplished the reader may conceive. 2d. It put all places where the King or his party should conceive come under an interdict, and "*sub gravissimis pœnis*" prohibited all divine service or ceremonies in any church, monastery, or place, subject to his dominion. 3d. It declared his offspring by Ann Boleyn, and the children of all his supporters, born or to be born, infamous, and deprived them of all possessions, domains, liberties, privileges, honors, offices, or property, however obtained, an extent of robbery which the greatest robbers we know of have ever perpetrated. 4th. It absolved his subjects from their obedience and commanded them not to obey him; here was perjury as well as treason enjoined to all who thus violated their oaths of allegiance. 5th. It forbade all trading and intercourse with him, and with all cities and places that obeyed him, and annulled all contracts with them. 6th. It directed all Ecclesiastical persons to leave his kingdom. Thus, commanding them cruel exile for which the French Convention have been so justly censured for compelling their Clergy to undergo. 7th. It ordered the nobility of England to take up arms against him, and to procure his expulsion. 8th. It made void all treaties with him, and exhorted the Kings and Princes of Europe to pursue him and his defenders with their military forces till he submitted to the Pope; and 9thly, it doomed all his adherents wherever they could be apprehended, to be taken for slaves, "*in servos*," and all their goods to become the property of their takers. It orders the Prelates and others to excommunicate Henry in their Churches.



But the throne of England was no longer to be shaken by such thunders. Even the Romish Bishops joined in the declaration which Henry set forth, that Christ had forbidden his Apostles or their successors to take to themselves the power of the sword, or the authority of kings ; and that if the Bishop of Rome, or any other Bishop assumed any such power, he was a tyrant, and an usurper of other men's rights, and a subverter of the kingdom of Christ.

The King now urged forward the printing of the English Bible ; on the completion of which, Cromwell presented it to the King, and procured his warrant allowing all his subjects, in all his dominions, to read it, without control or hazard. Cranmer and all good men now rejoiced that they saw this day of reformation, which was now risen in England, since the light of God's word did shine over it without any cloud. Injunctions were also given out in the King's name, by Cromwell, to all Incumbents, to "provide one of these Bibles and set it up publicly in the church, and not to hinder or discourage the reading of it, but to encourage all persons to peruse it as being the true living word of God, which every Christian ought to believe, embrace, and follow, if he expected to be saved."

The abettors of Popery now changed their ground ; and in the consciousness that the King was at heart a Papist, though, under the influence of Cromwell and Cranmer, he had acted as a reformer, they determined to adopt a line of policy both cautious and artful. They, therefore, represented to the King, that nothing would so secure him both at home and abroad against all the mischief the Pope was contriving, as to shew great zeal against heretics, chiefly the sacramentarians, (by that name they branded all that denied the corporal presence of Christ in the Eucharist) and he, being all his life zealous for the belief of the corporal presence, was the more easily persuaded to be severe on that head. An act was now passed to restrain the spirit of Reform, and to punish all who should favour the growing Reformation ; it was entitled, "An Act for abolishing diversity of opinions in certain articles concerning the Christian Religion." The preamble states, "that the King, considering the blessed effects of union and the mischiefs of

discord, since there were many different opinions both among the Clergy and Laity about some points of religion, had called this Parliament and a Synod, at the same time, for removing these differences, where six articles were proposed and long debated by the Clergy, and the King himself had come in person to the Parliament and Council, and opened many things of high learning and great knowledge about them, and that he with the assent of both Houses of Parliament had agreed on the following articles : First, that in the Sacrament of the Altar after the Consecration, there remained no substance of bread and wine, but under these forms the natural body and blood of Christ were present.

Secondly, That communion in both kinds was not necessary to salvation to all persons by the law of God, but that both the flesh and blood of Christ, were together in each of the kinds. Thirdly, That priests, after the order of priesthood, might not marry by the law of God. Fifthly, That the use of private masses ought to be continued, which, as it was agreeable to God's law, so men receive great benefit by them. Sixthly, That auricular confession was expedient and necessary, and ought to be retained in the Church. It was therefore enacted, " that if any, after the 12th of July, did speak, preach, or write against the first article, they were to be judged heretics, and to be burnt without any abjuration, and to forfeit their real and personal estates to the King. And those who preached, or obstinately disputed against the other articles were to be judged felons, and to suffer death as felons, without benefit of Clergy. And those who, either by word or writing, spake against them, were to be prisoners during the King's pleasure, and forfeit their goods and chattels to the King, for the first time ; and if they offended so the second time, they were to suffer as felons. All the marriages of priests are declared void, and if any priest did still keep any such woman whom he had so married and lived familiarly with her as with his wife, he was to be judged a felon ; and if a priest lived carnally with any other woman, he was upon the first conviction, to forfeit his benefices, goods, and chattels, and to be imprisoned during the King's pleasure, and upon the se-

cond conviction, was to suffer as a felon." This act was received by all who secretly favoured Popery, with great joy, for now they hoped to be revenged on all those who had hitherto set forward the Reformation, whilst they began to prepare for new storms and a heavy persecution. One thing, however, was very remarkable, which was this year granted at Cranmer's intercession. Nothing could so much recover the Reformation that was now declining fast, as the free use of the Scriptures; and though these had been set up in the Churches, yet he pressed, and now procured leave for private persons to buy Bibles, and keep them in their houses. This was granted by letters patent, directed to Cromwell, bearing date the 13th of November, stating, "that the King was desirous to have his subjects attain the knowledge of God's word, which could not be effected by any means so well as by granting them the free and liberal use of the Bible in the English tongue, which to avoid dissension, he intended should pass among them only by one translation. Therefore Cromwell was charged to take care, that for the space of five years there should be no impression of the Bible, or any part of it, but only by such as should be assigned by him."

This concession was, at this period, of the utmost importance to the cause of religion. The Sacred Volume, when known and read, cannot but uphold the cause of God against the powers of darkness. It will have "free course and be glorified." All that, henceforth, remained of vital Christianity, must be attributed to this concession; for now persecution, trials and calamity, had nigh suppressed the rising spirit of Reform.

So many hundred persons were thrown into prison, upon the Act of the Six Articles, that Henry himself thought it better to grant a general pardon, than to proceed against them all; and this bloody act slept, till his determination to put away Ann of Cleves, and to marry Catherine Howard, drew on the fall of Cromwell, whom the Duke of Norfolk, uncle to the bride elect, mortally hated.

The Six Articles were now enforced with extreme severity; and Henry, as if to show his impartiality, persecuted Papists

and Protestants alike ; both were drawn upon the same hurdle to Smithfield ; the former, according to their own writers, feeling it more intolerable than death, to be thus coupled with heretics, and dying under the hangman's hands in this uncharitable spirit ; while the Protestants, amid the flames, were offering up prayers for those by whom they were condemned. Lambert was among those who suffered at this time.

It seems, this man had denied transubstantiation, which Henry had ordered to be believed ; the King, hearing that he was to be tried at Westminster for this offence, which was capital, undertook himself to dispute the point with him in public. Letters were written to many of the Bishops and nobility to be present upon this extraordinary occasion ; and, on the day appointed in November, 1538, there was a great concourse in the hall. Lambert was brought to the bar by armed men ; and after a solemn pause, the King appeared, clothed in white, and attended by his guards, also in white. On his right, sat the Bishops, ten of whom were to dispute with Lambert, one being appointed to answer each of the opinions he had previously given in writing to Dr. Taylor. Behind them, were the Judges and principal Lawyers of the land, clothed in scarlet robes ; on the left, sat the Peers of the realm, and other nobles, in their order. Before this solemn assembly, stood the poor Schoolmaster, alone as to human assistance, but not forsaken by his God and Saviour ; for strengthened with might by the Spirit in the inner man, he was enabled to face this assembly, undismayed. Being condemned by the King himself, who presided, and whose conduct was disgraced by the ferocious cruelty, which he that day displayed, Lambert on the day of his martyrdom, was brought out of prison, at eight o'clock in the morning, to Lord Cromwell's house, and taken into his chamber ; when being informed that the hour of his death was at hand, he was greatly comforted with the prospect of departing to be with Christ, which, he said, was far better to him than remaining in this troublesome world. Then going out of the chamber into the hall, he saluted the gentlemen who came to attend his execution, and sat down to breakfast with them, without any sad-

ness or fear. When breakfast was ended, he was taken to Smithfield, where he was very cruelly treated. For after his legs were consumed and burnt to the stumps, the wretched tormentors withdrew the fire, leaving but very little under him. Then two men, that stood on each side of him, thrust their halberts into his body, and raised him up so high as the chain would permit; when Lambert, lifting up such hands as he had, his finger ends flaming with fire, cried unto the people in these words, “*None but Christ, none but Christ;*” and and being let down again from their halberts, he fell into the fire, and then ended his mortal life.

The alterations in the reign of Henry, who expired January 28, 1547, were rather separations from the Pope, than a Reformation of religious abuses; in the reign of his successor, Edward VI. the errors of Rome, in reality, began to be reformed. Upon the character and abilities of this British Josiah, historians have ever delighted to dwell. “No pen,” as Fuller says, “passeth by him without praising him, though none praiseth him to his full deserts;” and if there are a few Romish writers who cannot be included among this number, it reflects but little credit upon their fidelity and candour, as historians. “If ye knew, says William Thomas, one of the most learned men of those times, “the towardness of that young Prince, your heart would melt to hear him named, and your stomach would abhor the malice of them that would do him ill; the beautifullest creature that liveth under the sun; the wittiest, the most amiable, and the gentlest thing of all the world. Such a capacity for learning the things taught him by his schoolmasters, that it is a wonder to hear say.” Such was Edward the Sixth; learned, amiable and pious. With his mother’s gentleness and suavity of disposition, he inherited his father’s capacity, and diligence, and love of learning.

The early youth of this pious Prince, crowned as it was with that wisdom, sagacity, and virtue, that would have done honour to advanced years, gave new spirit and vigour to the Protestant cause, and was its brightest ornament, as well as its most effectual support. He encouraged learned and pious *men of foreign countries* to settle in England, and addressed a

particular invitation to Martin Bucer and Paul Fagius, whose moderation added a lustre to their other virtues, that, by the ministry and labours of these eminent men, in concert with those of the friends of the Reformation in England, he might purge his dominions from the sordid fictions of Popery, and establish the pure doctrines of Christianity in their place.

At his coronation, when the three swords for the three kingdoms were carried before him, he observed that there was yet one wanting. The Nobles enquired his meaning; he replied, it was **THE BIBLE**, adding, "that Book is the sword of the Spirit, and to be preferred before these swords. That ought, in all right, to govern us, who use them for the people's safety, by God's appointment. Without *that sword* we are nothing; we can do nothing, we have no power. From that, we are what we are this day. From that, we receive whatsoever it is that we at this present do assume. He that rules without it, is not to be called God's Minister, or a King. Under that, we ought to live, to fight, to govern the people, and to perform all our affairs. From that alone, we obtain all power, virtue, grace, salvation, and whatsoever we have of divine strength." He then commanded a Bible to be brought, and carried before him, with the greatest reverence.

Upon such a Prince, the charge addressed to him by Cranmer, at the coronation, would not be lost; "Your Majesty is God's Vicegerent, and Christ's Vicar, within your own dominions, and you are to see, like your predecessor Josias, God truly worshipped, and idolatry destroyed, also the tyranny of the Bishops of Rome banished from your subjects, and images removed. These acts be signs of a second Josias, who reformed the Church of God in his day. You are to reward virtue, to punish sin, to justify the innocent, to relieve the poor, to procure peace, to repress violence, and to execute justice throughout your realms."

As Edward was but nine years of age on his accession to the throne, the principal direction of affairs rested upon his uncle, Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, afterwards created Duke of Somerset. He was styled the Lord Protector, and appears to have been originally influenced by pious principles. **Cran-**

mer, Archbishop of Canterbury, was now fully emancipated from the errors of the Church of Rome; and the light of truth had, by degrees, illumined his mind. Both the Protector and Primate were, therefore, fully bent upon forwarding the Reformation; but they saw that it was necessary to proceed with caution, as the realm was in a very unquiet state. The Romanists had already taken the alarm, and endeavoured to excite discontent among the people, by all the means in their power. The Protector and the Council were convinced that it was necessary to proceed with care, and not to attempt material alterations upon their own authority. A Parliament, therefore, was summoned. Meanwhile a general visitation of all the Dioceses was made, with a view to remove some of the superstitious ceremonies, and to enforce the observance of certain injunctions, (thirty-six in number) set forth by authority. The particulars of these are recorded by Fuller. Among them are directions for the observance of the laws against the Pope's supremacy; "that the Clergy should preach once a quarter, at least, dissuading their people from superstitious fancies of pilgrimages, praying to images; and that images should be removed; that the Bible, and the Paraphrase of Erasmus on the New Testament, should be placed in every Church; that none should preach without license; that at High Mass the Epistle and Gospel, a chapter of the New Testament, and also the Litany should be read in English; that to prevent, in sick persons, the damnable vice of despair, the Clergy should learn, and always have in readiness, such comfortable places, and sentences of Scripture, as set forth the mercy, benefits, and goodness of God, towards all penitent and believing persons." Surely this was a most estimable substitute, as far as it went, for extreme unction, and prayers to the Virgin and Saints! The other injunctions contained various regulations, all of which tended to promote the good work which was now going forward.

To aid this pious design a Book of Homilies was set forth, and ordered to be used by all the Clergy who were not authorized to preach. Cranmer earnestly promoted this design, and Gardiner, of course, opposed it. The work, however, went

forward, and the Archbishop himself assisted. The Homily on Salvation, in particular, appears to have been written by him: Gardiner, meanwhile, strongly objecting to the doctrine taught in it. His repeated oppositions to the proceedings of the Council, and his refractory conduct in general, compelled the Council to commit him to the Fleet Prison.\*

On the 8th of January next year he was brought before the Council, when he was informed that his former offences being included in the King's general pardon, he was thereupon discharged: a solemn admonition was, at the same time, given him to conduct himself reverently and obediently, and he was asked whether he would receive the Injunctions and Homilies, and the doctrine to be set forth, from time to time, by the King and Clergy of the realm. He answered, he would conform himself as the other Bishops did; and only objected to the Homily of Justification, desiring four or five days to consider of it.

On his return to his diocese, there still appeared in his whole behaviour great malignity towards Cranmer, and to every attempt at Reformation; yet, he manifested such outward prudence and compliance, that it was not easy to find any advantage against him.

The Princess Mary, afterwards Queen, was as much displeased with the proceedings of the Council as were the Romish Prelates. She wrote to the Protector, that she thought

\* The most questionable of the measures pursued at this time, in promoting the Reformation, were the suspensions and imprisonments of those Bishops who chose to adhere to their ancient system. In these events we see power in arbitrary and ill humoured exertion; and creating for these violent men justifying precedents and exasperated motives for retaliating severities on their judges and accusers, when they afterwards acquired the power of inflicting them. It is extraordinary that men should be so prone to imitate what they feel to be censurable; their only merit was, that these unjust measures were not aggravated by torture and bloodshed; but they fixed vindictive resentments in the minds of the sufferers, which led them in their day of triumph to use these dreadful extremes. We must, however, bear in recollection, that men's minds had been formed, and their opinions and actions governed by the principles which Popery herself had instilled into them; and that the Reformation is, in no respect, answerable for conduct which it neither suggested nor sanctioned. Severity towards the Papists was only the reaction of Popish principles.



all changes in religion, while the King was under age, were improper, and reflected upon the memory of her Father. To this the Duke replied, and exhorted her to study the Scriptures.

He wrote, that he "believed her letter flowed not immediately from herself, but from the instigation of some malicious persons. He protests they had no other design but the glory of God and the honour and safety of the King, and that what they had done was so well considered, that all good subjects ought rather to rejoice at it than find fault with it. And whereas she had said, that her father had brought religion to a godly order and quietness, to which both spirituality and temporality did without compulsion give their assent, he remembers her what opposition the stiff necked Papists gave him, and what rebellions they raised against him, which he wonders how she came so soon to forget, adding, that death had prevented him before he had finished those Godly orders which he had designed, and that no kind of religion was perfected at his death, but all was left so uncertain, that it must inevitably bring on great disorders if God did not help them, and that himself and many others could witness what regret their late master had when he saw he must die before he had finished what he intended. He wondered that she who had been well bred and was learned, should esteem true religion and the knowledge of the Scriptures, newfangledness or phantasy. He desired she would turn the leaf and look on the other side, and would with an humble spirit, and by the assistance of the grace of God consider the matter better."

Latimer, who had been released from the Tower soon after the King's accession, and other divines of acknowledged piety and talent, were now employed to preach throughout the kingdom.

In the commencement of the new year a Proclamation was issued, forbidding many superstitious rites, ceremonies, and processions. Images were also to be removed. The execution of this law was a new grief to Gardiner and his brethren. The Sacrament of the Altar being the most corrupted of any part of the Church services was first reformed, being declared to be a communion, and ordered to be celebrated after a form

in many respects similar to that used by the Church of England in the present day. The alteration was to take place at the following Easter ; and private confession of sins to a Priest and obtaining his absolution, were declared to be no longer necessary. Thus an effectual blow was struck at another error of Popery. Penance and Indulgences, of course, became no longer necessary.\*

Gardiner again stood forward, opposing this casting off the corruptions of Popery ; after repeated warnings from the Council, and promises on his part of conformity to their directions, he was found continuing his seditious malpractices, and exciting disturbances, upon which the Lords committed him to the Tower. Cranmer engaged in various plans for the promotion of the Protestant faith ; nor was he inattentive to the state of the Universities ; he encouraged sound and Scriptural learning ; and with this view induced Peter Martyr, and other learned foreign Protestants to settle at Oxford and Cambridge. At length the Reformed Liturgy was set forth, in many points similar to the one now in use.

The calm judgment and enlightened discrimination of Cranmer successively added other desirable improvements. Led by a correct good sense, and by a right principle—never in extremes, averse from violence, yet firm and persevering whenever confidence and co-operation from those who had the power, enabled him to give effect to the dictates of his judgment—his exertions and counsels gave a new form and beauty to England's religious worship.

Peter Martyr, Bucer, and other foreign divines assisted in this work ; and Calvin wrote to the Protector, encouraging him

\* In addition to other examples, the following, extracted from the Appendix to *Barnet's History of the Reformation*, will give the reader an insight into the nature of these Indulgences. " Who that devoutly beholdeth these arms of our Lord Jesus Christ, shall obtain 6000 years of pardon of our Holy Father, St. Peter the First, Pope of Rome, and of thirty other Popes of the Church of Rome, successors after him. And our Holy Father, Pope John XXII. hath granted unto all them, very contrite and truly confessed, that say these devout prayers following, in the commemoration of the bitter passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, 3000 years of pardon for *deadly* sins, and other 3000 for *venial* sins, and say first a Paternoster, and an Ave Maria."

to proceed with the Reformation. A large pro portio of the nation, however, was too deeply attached to Romish superstitions to approve of these changes, and much angry discussion arose.

The Clergy were still forbidden to preach without license, and were directed to use the Homilies. With the letter of this injunction they complied, but contrived to evade its spirit; for those who were averse to the doctrines of the Gospel, read the Homilies in such a hasty, confused, and irreverent manner, as to be unintelligible to their congregation; thus many hungry sheep still looked up, but were not fed. The free use, however, of the Scriptures was allowed to all, and no less than thirty-four distinct editions of the whole Bible or New Testament in the English language, were printed in this reign, without including editions of detached parts. In the next Session of Parliament, an Act was passed, permitting, or rather conniving at the marriage of Priests: thus another abomination of the Church of Rome was done away.

By the dissolution of the monasteries, a large proportion of the property of the nation had changed hands; and its present owners in their anxiety to increase their lately acquired wealth, often acted so as to excite discontent among the former tenants. The Monks, many of whom roamed about the country, inflamed their feelings, and as the decided manner in which the Reformation now advanced, left them little hope of a change in their favour, if it once became fully settled, they excited disturbances in several places, availing themselves of the evils already mentioned. In Devonshire and the West of England, the rebels were so strong, that it was necessary to send troops against them. At length, this rebellion, and similar commotions in Norfolk and Yorkshire, were suppressed, but not without bloodshed. The leaders, among whom were several Romish Priests, were executed, but their misguided followers received a free pardon.

Gardiner, who had experienced the clemency and forbearance of Cranmer and the Reformers generally, on his return to his diocese after his release from the Fleet Prison, continued to *conduct himself* with so much want both of temper and discre-

tion, that the Council were obliged to commit him to the Tower, to restrain his opposition and malevolence, and to operate as a warning on the disaffected generally.

These events were speedily followed by the disgrace of the Protector; who fell a sacrifice to the intrigues of the Earl of Warwick, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, who now assumed the government, and was a bold, unprincipled man. This change alarmed the Reformers; while Gardiner and his party rejoiced. They were, however, in some measure disappointed. The new Protector found it to be *his interest* to countenance the Reformation, and accordingly he did so; although, at the same time, he encouraged his followers to scoff at religion. Cranmer and Ridley remonstrated with him faithfully, yet mildly, while Latimer, Bradford, and others spoke their sentiments more strongly.

On Christmas day, 1550, a letter was forwarded from the Council to all the Bishops in England, stating, "that whereas the English Service had been devised by learned men, according to the Scripture, and the use of the Primitive Church; therefore, for putting away all vain expectation of any change," as the result of the Protector's disgrace, "all Clergymen were required to deliver to such as should be appointed by the King to receive them, all antiphonals, missals, grayles, processionals, manuals, legends, pies, portuasses, journals, and ordinals, after the use of Sarum, Lincoln, York, or any other private use; requiring them to see to the observing one uniform order in the service set forth by the common consent of the realm."

Ridley was now appointed Bishop of London, instead of Bonner; and Hooper was made Bishop of Gloucester. In visiting his diocese, Ridley endeavoured to do away with all superstitious practices; and with this view he ordered the Altars to be removed, and Communion Tables to be substituted in their stead. With these and similar regulations the Romish Clergy in general complied, though with manifest reluctance.

In the year 1551, the Articles of Religion were set forth by authority; they did not differ essentially from those subsequently promulgated by Queen Elizabeth. Some further improvements were also made in the Liturgy, which was now

translated into the vulgar tongue, for the use of the people generally. Most of the Saints' Days were discontinued, and the Missal and Breviary, being filled with the most impudent and disgusting forgeries and legends concerning them, were completely reviewed, and the whole Prayer Book reformed, nearly as we now have it. An Act was now passed fully authorizing and allowing the marriage of the Clergy, by which the occasion of much vice and immorality was taken away.

The Princess Mary was, notwithstanding, allowed the celebration of Mass in her own Chapel; but her bigoted attachment to the doctrines and ceremonies of Popery, rendered Edward very uneasy,\* and as his health was now declining, the Duke of Northumberland devised a plan for securing the Crown to Lady Jane Grey, a distant branch of the Royal Family, and settled a marriage between her and one of his own sons. To further these ambitious projects, he resolved on the destruction of the Duke of Somerset, who, for some time, had lived contentedly in a private station. He was arrested on a charge of high treason; and although acquitted of that crime, was found guilty upon a charge of having conspired the death of the Duke of Northumberland, which does not, however, appear to have been founded in truth. He was beheaded on the 22nd of January, 1552. Thus fell Edward, Duke of Somerset; a man of eminent virtues, and of great piety; humble and affable in his greatness, sincere and candid in all his transactions: and who was ever the friend of the poor and the oppressed. His death created deep sorrow throughout the kingdom.

As the King felt his end approaching, he was very anxious for the future welfare of his subjects. He knew, that if his sister Mary succeeded to the crown, she would destroy all that had been done for the reformation of religion. Of this anxiety

\* Edward thought the Mass impious and idolatrous; and he determined, therefore, not to allow Mary to continue its use. Crammer, Ridley, and others having endeavoured to convince him that he would not sin by permitting her to retain her own mode of worship, he was overcome by their discourse, and bursting into tears, lamented his sister's obstinacy, and that he must suffer her to continue in so abominable a way of worship, as he esteemed the Mass.

Northumberland, and some others, took advantage, and persuaded him to appoint by will, Lady Jane Grey as his successor. Edward gradually wasted away, and expired on the 6th of July, 1553.

During the whole course of his sickness, he expressed great submission to the will of God, and welcomed the approach of death. The state of religion was his only care, and for securing its firmer establishment, he alone was desirous of life.\*

A few hours before his death, he was heard to utter the following prayer, thinking that he was alone : " Lord, deliver me out of this wretched and miserable life, and take me among thy chosen ; howbeit, not my will, but thine be done. Lord, I commit my spirit to thee ; O Lord, thou knowest how happy it were for me to be with thee, yet for the sake of thy chosen, send me life and health, that I may truly serve thee. O Lord, my God, bless thy people, and save thine inheritance. O Lord God, save thy chosen people of England. O my Lord, *defend this realm from Papistry* ; and maintain thy true religion, that I and my people may praise thy holy name, for thy Son Jesus Christ's sake." He then turned round, and seeing some bystanders, exclaimed, " Are ye so nigh ? I thought you had been further off." His last words were, " I am faint ; Lord, have mercy upon me, and take my spirit." Thus died Edward the Sixth, in the sixteenth year of his age, eminent for his learning and abilities, but most especially for his piety.

On the King's decease, his eldest sister, the Princess Mary was entitled to succeed to the throne, according to the order of succession, and the will of their father, Henry VIII. She was a bigotted Romanist ; and the probability of her obtaining the crown, filled the hearts of all the lovers of truth with much

\* Edward's zeal for religion was such, that when he was pressed to allow the Princess Mary to retain the Mass, he said, " that he would not only hazard the loss of the Emperor's friendship, but of his life, and all that he had in the world, rather than consent to what he knew was a sin." He then cited some passages of scripture, that obliged Kings to root out idolatry, by which, he said, he was bound in conscience, not to consent to her Mass, since he conceived it was idolatry.

apprehension. They, however, in general, were prepared to commit this and every event to the will of him who ordereth all things aright; and we consequently find Cranmer and others willing to submit to her, and resisting the ambitious views of the Duke of Northumberland.

This nobleman had married one of his sons to Lady Jane Grey, the daughter of the Duchess of Suffolk, who was granddaughter to King Henry VII. and stood next in succession to the throne, after the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth; and he sought to avail himself of the apprehensions entertained by many, as to the evil consequences likely to arise, if Mary should be Queen. King Edward, in particular, was so fearful lest all he had laboured to effect in the cause of truth, should be annulled, that he was easily prevailed upon by Northumberland to make a will, leaving the throne to Lady Jane Grey, as we have before mentioned. But the generality of the nation, could not approve of this unlawful method of depriving Mary of her rights; while those who favoured Popery were eager to bestir themselves in her cause. The Duke of Northumberland's proceedings were as ill judged, as they were illegal; in thirteen days, the reign of his daughter-in-law was at an end, and she expressed greater pleasure in resigning, than in assuming the crown.

Jane found that a crown had its thorns of vexation, as well as its jewels of glory; and the longer she might have worn it, the more it would have tormented her. Unjust acquisitions command no respect, and give no security. She had descended from her social probity, to take a royalty which was another's inheritance; and it is probable, that she repented of the error, soon after she committed it. But almost all crimes are the transactions of a few minutes, and yet involve us in long chastising consequences of disgrace and ruin; from which no remorse nor regret can save us, when we have once committed ourselves to the evil issue. It is in the preceding deliberation, that moral principle must exert its power, and mental fortitude fix its resisting resolution: and it is in the choice and decision of our will to do the unbecoming deed, that its personal criminality chiefly consists. The act is but

the manual and momentary execution of the vicious and degrading determination. It is that which sullies the soul; and it is that in which virtue must maintain her sway.

Mary was chiefly indebted to the Protestants, for this easy victory over her enemies. The men of Suffolk were generally favourers of the Reformation, but they could not approve the depriving Mary of her rightful inheritance. They resorted to her in great numbers, and inquired if she would allow all matters connected with religion, to remain as in the days of King Edward. She gave them the fullest assurances, and most positive promises, that she would not make any alteration or change, but would be satisfied if she were allowed privately to follow her own religion. Upon this, the nobility and gentry of that county, raised forces, and took such effectual measures, that Mary was proclaimed Queen on the 17th of July, and entered London in triumph, on the third of August, 1553.

On her arrival at the Tower, she sent for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen; and, among other matters, confirmed her declaration already mentioned, by telling them, "that although her own conscience was fixed in matters of religion, yet she meant not to compel or strain other people's consciences, otherwise than God should, as she trusted, put in their hearts, a persuasion of the truth, through the opening of his word unto them, by godly, virtuous, and learned preachers." Her subjects had good reason to expect, at least, a toleration from her. In addition to their exertions in her behalf, and her positive promise that no changes, in religion should be attempted, they had a claim upon her gratitude of still longer standing, for Cranmer had interposed in her behalf, and persuaded Henry, as we have before related, from putting her to death.

But a commanding actor, more impatient, and more determined, had now taken the field, and was moving his most active engines to operate on a mind which had still goodness enough to hesitate about enforcing on others, her own prepossessions, as she clearly saw that the most painful compulsions must be exerted, to effectuate her secret wishes. The Pope to



whom the news of Edward's death, of Jane's failure, and of Mary's rapid establishment had been transmitted, so unexpected, and so complete, burst into tears of joy. He was too much excited, and too gratified to be inactive; and with a natural eagerness to profit immediately from the favouring event, and to promote its good results, he dispatched his own chamberlain instantaneously to England, with great secrecy, to see and learn, and do whatever, at that moment, was most advantageous and practicable. Commendone succeeded in obtaining a private interview with Mary herself, unknown to her court or people. Returning to the Vatican in September, the chamberlain disclosed to the private ear of Julius, the whole of what he had collected. Cardinal Pole was immediately appointed Legate to England, with directions to exert all possible diligence to restore the kingdom to its former faith and submission to the Roman See: to exercise due caution and prudence; and not to endanger his great object by too much precipitation and zeal. Beset on all sides by mischievous and intolerant counsels, Mary gradually yielded to the suggestions of the Papal See. She entered into correspondence with Pole; expressed her desire to see her kingdom "free from heresies, obedient to the Apostolic See, and purged from all schism;" but added her conviction, "that it was not only difficult, but impossible, fully and entirely, at once, to restore religion and the ecclesiastical authority." The House of Commons, however, being gained over, Pole was soon enabled to announce to the Pope, the return of the English Kingdom to its allegiance to his See; whilst Mary, forgetful of her promises and obligations, proceeded to establish the authority of the Pope, and of the Popish religion, by force and persecution. The Romish Bishops, Bonner, Gardiner, Tostal, Heath, and Day, were restored to their Sees; and Gardiner, being appointed Lord Chancellor, had the chief management of affairs committed to him, upon his engaging both to the Queen and to the Emperor, that he would restore the Pope's supremacy, and bring back the nation to the profession of that faith, which claims for itself an exclusive truth.

Bonner lost no time in taking possession of his See, and

publicly attended the Sermon at Paul's Cross, on August 13th, on which occasion, Bourn, one of his chaplains, preached before him. Every thing now testified, that Mary did not mean to rest satisfied with the Romish religion, as modified by her Father ; but that she designed to compel the nation to a Profession of Popery, in its worst corruptions, as she herself professed it. This was the more evident, as she already had Mass celebrated as formerly, in her own chapel, and prayers for the deceased King offered up, after the Romish ritual.

The coronation took place on the 1st of October, according to the Ceremonial used in the days of Popery. On the 4th of the same month, the Archbishop of York, and several others were sent to the Tower; and on the next day, the Parliament was opened with a solemn Mass to the Holy Ghost. The Bishops of Lincoln and Hereford, perceiving this Popish ceremony about to begin, withdrew, for which they were called to account, and deprived of their Sees.

Cranmer, with Lady Jane Grey and her husband, were brought to trial at Guildhall, November 13th, and condemned for High Treason against the Queen. They all admitted their offence in *this* respect; but Cranmer appealed to his Judges, who well knew that he had refused to consent to the exclusion of Mary, till those who were acquainted with the law had declared that it was legal; having made this appeal, he submitted himself to the mercy of the Queen.

The committal of Cranmer was not, however, resolved on without hesitation and delay; for he was so generally beloved for the gentleness of his temper, and his services to the Queen in her Father's life-time, were so well remembered, that they could not be so soon forgotten by the world, as they were by the Queen herself.

Every thing now foreboded the rising storm; insomuch, that many in the apprehension of the impending evils, fled beyond the seas, among whom were Cox, Sands, Grindal, and Horn.

These, and similar proceedings, caused much joy at Rome. Mass was publicly celebrated, and an unusual quantity of Indulgences were distributed on this occasion. It was also

determined, that Cardinal Pole should proceed as Legate, with full powers to reconcile England to the Pope.

In February, 1554, Lord Guildford Dudley was beheaded upon Tower Hill ; and within an hour afterwards, Lady Jane Grey, in the same manner, within the Tower. The hard fate of this unhappy Lady, was universally lamented ; the more so, from the general estimation in which she was held for her fervent piety, and superior abilities.

The jealous and bigoted temper of Queen Mary, made her apprehensive that the Princess Elizabeth was inclined to promote the designs against her authority ; or, at least, that she might be made use of by her enemies. In consequence of this suspicion, she was conducted to the Court, and kept there as a prisoner for a fortnight. Gardiner earnestly desired her destruction, apprehending that if Elizabeth succeeded to the throne, he should have to suffer the treatment he deserved. Various means to implicate her in a charge of treason were used ; and, after an examination before Gardiner and nineteen of the Council, on Palm Sunday, she was sent to the Tower, as a prisoner, and landed at the Traitor's Stairs. Fox, and most of the Historians of this reign, give a full account of the harsh treatment experienced by the Princess Elizabeth, especially while confined in the Tower. In the month of May she was carried to Woodstock, under the guard of a brutal officer, who was restrained in some measure, by a nobleman joined with him in the care of the Princess. For several months she lived in much anxiety, daily expecting to suffer on the scaffold, or by assassination. We cannot wonder, that on hearing a milkmaid singing cheerfully, she wished she could change situations, saying, the milkmaid's lot was far better than that of a Princess.

On the 4th of March, 1554, the Queen issued instructions addressed to all the Bishops ; in which, after stating that many disorders had occurred during King Edward's days, she commanded that the Bishops should see to the execution of the Canons and Ecclesiastical Laws which had been in force, during her Father's reign. To give the greater weight to these

injunctions, the Queen ordered four Bishops to be turned out of their Bishoprics, because they were married; and three others, because it was stated in their patents, that they were to hold their Sees only so long as they behaved well. Cranmer, Ridley, and some other Prelates were removed under other pretexts; two died, and in the whole, sixteen new Romish Prelates were added to the Bench of Bishops this year; thus effectually changing the government of the Church. The new Prelates lost no time in executing the Queen's injunctions. Mass was now restored in every parish, and all the old superstitious processions and ceremonies were again observed. The Clergy cared not for studying the Scriptures, or preaching the Gospel. "If," says a contemporary writer, "there be any money to be gotten for masses, dirges, relics, pardons, &c. who so ready as they; they can smell it out a great many miles off. But if a man want comfort in his conscience, or would understand his duty towards God, or God's goodness towards us, they be blind, ignorant, and unlearned; and can say nothing, but make holy water, and bid them repeat a Lady Psalter."

The Queen, dazzled with the prospect of marrying the heir of the greatest monarch in Europe, fond of uniting more closely with her mother's family, to which she had been always warmly attached, and eager to secure the powerful aid which she knew would be necessary towards carrying on her favourite scheme of re-establishing the Romish religion in England, listened in the most favourable manner to a proposal, that she should marry Philip, son of the Emperor Charles V. Among her subjects it met with a very different reception. Philip, it was well known, contended for all the tenets of the Church of Rome with a sanguinary zeal, which exceeded the measure even of Spanish bigotry; this alarmed all the numerous partizans of the Reformation. The Castilian haughtiness and reserve were far from being acceptable to the English, who, having several times seen their throne occupied by persons who had been born subjects, had become accustomed to an uncereemonious and familiar intercourse with their Sovereign: they could not think, without the utmost uneasiness, of admitting a foreign

Prince to that influence in their councils which the husband of the Queen would naturally possess; they dreaded both from Phillip's overbearing temper, and from the maxims of the Spanish monarchy which he had imbibed, that he would infuse ideas into the Queen's mind dangerous to the liberties of the nation, and would introduce foreign troops and money into the kingdom, to assist her in any attempt against them.

Full of these apprehensions, the House of Commons, though in that age extremely obsequious to the will of their monarchs, presented a warm address against the Spanish match. Many pamphlets were published, representing the dangerous consequences of the alliance with Spain, and describing Philip's bigotry and arrogance in the most odious colours; but Mary, inflexible in all her resolutions, paid no regard to the remonstrances of the Commons, or to the sentiments of the people.

After the marriage of the Queen the Parliament proceeded, in 1554, with activity in restoring the Romish religion; and an Act was passed, repealing all the laws made against the authority of the Pope since the year 1529. The possessors of the Abbey Lands being unwilling to relinquish them, a clause was introduced into this Act, confirming them to the persons in whose hands they then were. In a word, all things respecting religion were, as nearly as possible, brought back to the state in which they in the year 1530, before the quarrel between Henry and the See of Rome had commenced. The next Act revived the old laws against heretics and Lollards, which had been repealed during the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. By this measure the power of proceeding against heretics was again committed to the Romish Clergy, as fully as at any former period; so that they could now arrest persons, imprison, try, and condemn them by their own authority, and without any others being allowed to interfere.

Gardiner had now fulfilled his promises to the Queen and Emperor. He had restored the Pope's authority, and the Romish religion in all its strictness; while, on the other hand, he had apparently confirmed the owners of Abbey Lands in their possession. Thus he satisfied all whose bigotry desired to see Romanism fully restored; and he, in some degree,

quieted the fears of those who were anxious for their private interests.

Cardinal Pole, on the other hand, professed himself an enemy to extreme proceedings. He said that Pastors ought to have compassion,\* even on their erring sheep. Bishops were fathers, and ought to regard those that erred as their sick children, and not to kill them. He proposed that the people should be gently led back to the truth from which they had erred; he, therefore, recommended a strict reformation of the lives of the Clergy, especially as it was acknowledged by the best and wisest men that the scandals and ignorance of the Clergy had given the entrance to heresy. But the furious measures of Gardiner prevailed.

Swarms of Romish books now issued from the press. As usual, the free use of the Scriptures was opposed. One writer stated above thirty reasons why the Scriptures ought not to be allowed in the English tongue. On the 25th of January, 1555, there was a solemn procession in London, to offer thanks for the conversion of the realm to the Romish faith, and its return to the authority of the Pope. First went the children of the Grey Friars (now Christ's Hospital) and of St. Paul's School. Then ninety crosses were carried, and one hundred and sixty Priests walked in rich garments, singing the Romish service. Next followed eight Bishops; and last of all came Bonner, under a canopy, carrying the *Host*, or consecrated wafer, in a *pix*. The Lord Mayor and Aldermen and all the Liverymen followed. The King and the Cardinal also met the procession at St. Paul's, where Mass was performed; then they returned to Westminster, and, at night, bonfires were made in the streets.

Queen Mary had now been seated upon the throne for eighteen months; and during that period Romanism had been gradually restored, till England was again fully subjected to the authority of the Pope. As a certain consequence, the sanguinary laws enacted in former times against all who ventured to differ from any doctrines taught by that Church, which assumes to be infallible, were again restored in their full severity.\*

\* Of the sixteen thousand Clergyman whom Parker estimates as being in England, twelve thousand were turned out on account of their marriage: some

Parliament having restored the laws against heretics, it was dissolved on the 16th of January, 1555. As we have already seen, Gardiner and his associates had determined upon the course to be pursued, in conformity to the inclinations of Queen Mary; and they immediately proceeded to avail themselves of the powers they now possessed.

The most active and zealous ministers among the Reformers had been committed to prison, on various pretexts, almost immediately upon the Queen's accession to the throne, and they were detained there, without trial or regular accusation, till affairs could be brought into the state which the Romanists desired. Then no further time was lost: they selected the first victims from among the Protestant Clergy, and Bishop Hooper was marked as the principal sacrifice.

On the 28th of January, 1555, Bishop Hooper, and Rogers, Vicar of St. Sepulchre's, (who had assisted in the early editions of the English Bible,) were brought before Gardiner and his coadjutors, at St. Mary Overies, in Southwark: being condemned as heretics, they were sent to Newgate, and committed to the secular power, that they might be burned.

On the 4th of February they were carried down to the chapel of the prison, where Bonner attended to degrade them. This ceremony being performed, Rogers was delivered over to the Sheriff, who immediately led him forth to Smithfield, where the pile was prepared. He had repeated to Bonner his request to see his wife, but this was again refused him; but on his way to the stake he saw her in the street, with his eleven children, one at the breast and ten standing by her side, anxiously waiting for that painful opportunity for a last sight of her beloved husband. Severe as this trial must have been, he was enabled to endure steadfastly to the end; and again refused a pardon offered if he would recant, saying, "That which I have preached I will seal with my blood." "Thou

were deprived without conviction, upon common report; some were never cited to appear, and yet turned out; many who were in prison were cited, and turned out for not appearing, though so doing was not in their power; and others were induced to submit, and part with their wives to retain their *livings*.

art a heretic," said the Sheriff. "That shall be known at the last day," answered Rogers. "I will never pray for thee," exclaimed the persecutor. "But I will pray for you," replied the martyr. He suffered the torments prepared for him with patience and fortitude, and, washing his hands, as it were, in the flames, as they blazed around him, took his death with so calm and resolute a patience, that many who were present blessed God for the support which had been vouchsafed him, and derived strength from his example.

Hooper expected to have accompanied Rogers to the stake, but was led back to his cell, and in the evening he learned that he was to be carried to Gloucester, to suffer among his people. At this intelligence he rejoiced: his persecutors thought that the spectacle would deter his flock from adhering to the doctrines their Bishop taught; but he praised God, believing that he should be enabled to suffer with such constancy as would be the means of confirming them in the truth. On the third day the Bishop arrived in Gloucester, where Sir Anthony Kingston, a particular friend of Hooper's, and who had been reclaimed from a sinful course of life by the faithful preaching of the Bishop, by a refinement of cruelty, was ordered to superintend his burning. He, with tears, urged the Bishop to remember that life was sweet, and death bitter. Hooper replied, that he was come thither to suffer death for the truths he had formerly taught in that place; and although life was sweet and death bitter, yet, by the strength of God's holy Spirit, he trusted to pass through the sufferings prepared for him without shrinking, rather than deny the truth.

Being allowed to remain at the private house, whither he had been at first conducted, the venerable martyr desired to go to bed betimes, saying he had many things to remember. Having slept one sleep soundly, he rose, and spent the rest of the night in prayer, desiring that no one would come to his chamber till eight o'clock, the hour fixed for his martyrdom.

On the 9th of February he was led forth to execution, to the place appointed, which was before the Cathedral. Having knelt down in prayer, a box was set before him, said to contain his pardon, if he would recant. This, however, he desired they



would take away, if they loved his soul. After some time spent in prayer, the venerable martyr was fastened to the stake. Three irons were brought for this purpose; but he said, "Trouble not yourselves: I doubt not but God will give strength sufficient to abide the fire, without these bands; notwithstanding, suspecting the weakness of the flesh, although I have assured confidence in God's strength, do as ye think." The hoop prepared for his middle was then put round him with some difficulty, for it was too small. The fire was kindled, and in every corner there was nothing but weeping and sorrowful people. His sufferings were very severe, the fire at first only reaching his legs and the lower part of his body. During this time he stood praying, "O Jesus, son of David, have mercy upon me, and receive my soul!" When this fire was spent, he wiped his eyes with his hands, and mildly but earnestly entreated that more fire might be brought. After some time the flame gained strength. He continued praying; "Lord Jesus, have mercy upon me! Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!" till, as a bystander relates, with painful minuteness, "he was black in the mouth, and his tongue was swoln so that he could not speak; yet his lips moved till they shrunk from the gums, and he smote his breast with his hands till one of his arms fell off; he continued knocking with the other, while the fat, water, and blood dropped out at his fingers' ends, until, by renewing of the fire, his strength was gone, and his hand did cleave fast to the iron on his breast." The voice with which he called upon his Redeemer was not as the voice of one impatient, or overcome with pain; he remained still and calm to the last, without a struggle; and, at length, in the words of the Martyrologist, "died as quiet as a child in his bed. No father in his household, no gardener in his garden, no husbandman in his vineyard, was ever more employed than Hooper had been in his diocese, among his flock, going about the towns and villages, teaching and preaching to the people there."

Saunders and Taylor, two other Clergymen, whose zeal had been distinguished in carrying on the Reformation, were the *next that suffered*. Taylor suffered at Hadley, in Suffolk, of

which he had been the incumbent, and where his ministry had been most abundantly blessed. Being intreated to fly from his enemies, he replied, "O remember the good Shepherd, Christ, who not only fed his flock, but died for it. Him must I follow; and, with God's grace, will do." Being committed to the King's Bench prison, he there found an excellent fellow prisoner, John Bradford, destined to the same fate, and prepared, with the same courage, to embrace it. As he approached the scene of his former labours, many of his former hearers came out, and, bursting into loud weeping when they saw him, exclaimed, "God save thee, good Doctor Taylor; Christ strengthen thee, and help thee!" He was put into a pitch barrel; and before the fire was kindled a faggot from an unknown hand was thrown at his head, which made it stream with blood: still, however, he continued undaunted, singing the thirty-first Psalm in English; which one of the spectators observing, hit him a blow on the side of the head, and commanded him to pray in Latin. He then continued a few minutes silent, only with his eyes steadfastly fixed on heaven, when one of the guards, either through impatience or compassion, struck him down with his halbert, and thus delivered him from a world of pain to a life of immortal happiness.

Laurence Saunders was confined in the Marshalsea prison, where he was visited by his wife and child: the former was refused admittance, but the keeper humanely carried the infant to his father. "What man, fearing God," exclaimed Saunders, "would not rather lose this present life, than, by prolonging it, adjudge this boy to be a bastard, his wife a whore, and himself a whoremonger? Yea, if there were no other cause for which a man of my estate should lose his life, yet who would not give it to avouch this child to be legitimate, and his marriage to be lawful and holy?" This burst of feeling may explain why it was that, during this persecution, the married Clergy were observed to suffer with most alacrity. They were bearing testimony to the validity and sanctity of their marriages, against the foul and unchristian aspersions of the Romish persecutors; the honour of their wives and children was at stake; the desire of leaving them an unsullied

name and a virtuous example combined with the sense of religious duty; and thus the heart derived strength from those very ties which, in other circumstances, might have weakened it. When Taylor, by the jailer's favour, was permitted to see his wife and one of his sons, on the night of his degradation, he exhorted the boy to a virtuous life, and bade him remember that his father died in the defence of holy marriage. As Taylor was leaving Aldgate, he called one of his children, who was lifted up, and set on the horse before his father. "Good people," said he, "this is mine own son, begotten in lawful matrimony; and God be blessed for holy matrimony!" Saunders was sent to Coventry for execution, because he had held preferment in the Cathedral of that diocese, where he suffered with constancy and faith. The death of these only served to increase the savage appetite of the Monks and Popish Bishops for fresh slaughter. Bonner, bloated, at once, with rage and luxury, let loose his vengeance without restraint; while the Queen, by letters, exhorted him to pursue the pious work without pity or interruption.

We have now to relate the last sufferings of two of the most eminent in the holy army of martyrs,—Bishops Ridley and Latimer. In September, 1555, a commission was sent from Cardinal Pole, as the Pope's Legate, authorizing the Bishop of Lincoln and two other Romish Prelates, "to examine and judge Latimer and Ridley, for the errors they held and maintained by public disputation in the preceding year, also previously in the time of perdition, and since." If they would recant, they were to be reconciled to the Pope; but if not, they were to be burned. Having been found contumacious, that is, steadfast in the faith, they were delivered over to the secular power, at Oxford, with strict orders that they should be allowed to speak to no man.

On the night preceding their execution, Ridley supped with the family of the Mayor. He invited his hostess and all who were present to his marriage; for, said he, "to-morrow I must be married." Mrs. Irish, the wife of the Mayor, was a Catholic; but she shed tears for his approaching fate. He was himself, however, quite unmoved, Heaven being his secret

supporter and comforter in this hour of agony. His brother offered to remain with him all night ; but Ridley declined, saying that he meant to go to bed, and sleep as quietly as he ever did in his life.

The next morning, October 16, 1555, the place of execution was prepared : it was in front of Baliol College, at that time a ditch by the town wall, but now filled up and made a street ; the exact spot was near the corner of Broad Street. Ridley came first to the stake, walking between the Mayor and an Alderman. Then followed Latimer, in his old frieze coat, with a long shroud hanging down to his feet. When they were arrived at the stake, Ridley embraced his aged companion, saying, "Be of good heart, brother; for God will either assuage the fury of the flame, or else strengthen us to abide it." They then kneeled down; and prayed separately, and afterwards conversed together. They were then ordered to make ready for the fire. Ridley gave away many trifling articles to the bystanders, who crowded eagerly to obtain them. Latimer gave nothing, but allowed the keeper to take off his upper garments; and, his mortal frame becoming invigorated at the prospect of the near approach to his journey's end, he no longer appeared a withered, crooked old man, his body crazed and bending under the weight of years, but stood upright, "as comely a father as one would desire to behold."

All was now ready; a lighted faggot was brought and laid at Ridley's feet! Then Latimer addressed his fellow sufferer in these words. "*Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man: we shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out.*"

The fire burned fiercely. Ridley exclaimed repeatedly, with a loud voice, "Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit! Lord, receive my spirit!" Latimer cried as vehemently, "O Father of Heaven, receive my soul!" and bent towards the flames, as it were embracing them: he then stroked his face, and, bathing it in the fire, speedily departed, with little pain.

Ridley's sufferings were more severe. The faggots had been built too high on his side, and kept the flames from

burning up. He intreated them to let the fire come to him. After some time, those around perceived that his legs were consumed, while his garments on one side were hardly scorched. He still continued to call, "Lord, have mercy upon me!" frequently adding, "Let the fire come to me." At last he was understood: one of the attendants pulled away the upper faggots; the flame rose; and the gunpowder exploding, he stirred no more, but his legs being consumed, his body turned over the chain and fell at Latimer's feet. As the bodies were consumed, the quantity of blood which gushed from Latimer's heart astonished the beholders. It was observed the more, because he had continually prayed, during his imprisonment, that as God had appointed him to be a preacher of his word, so also he would give him grace to stand to his doctrines until death, and shed his heart's blood for the same. Hundreds were moved to tears at beholding the horrid tortures endured by Ridley, and to see his own brother anxious to do him a kindness by hastening his end. Nor could they remember with indifference that these men had held the first stations in the land, and had passed an active and useful life, honoured for their learning, piety, and irreproachable conduct, ever manifesting deep anxiety for the welfare of the bodies and souls of men.

As soon as Cranmer perceived what course events were likely to take after King Edward's death, he gave orders that all his debts should be paid, to the uttermost farthing, and cancelled the bills which were due to him from persons who were not in a condition to discharge them. This being done, he said he was his own man, and, with God's help, able to answer all the world, and all worldly adversities. Those adversities soon came upon him: he was attainted of treason, and adjudged guilty of it. Upon this point he knew that he had offended, and solicited pardon; protesting that he had opposed the late King's intention of altering the succession, and had only been induced to sign the will by the King's earnest request, and the opinion of the Judges. The pardon was granted, not as an act of mercy, but that he might be proceeded against as a heretic, and condemned to a more cruel and ignominious

death. After his removal to Oxford, he, with Ridley and Latimer, was brought forward in St. Mary's, to hold a disputation with the Romanists, that the latter might adjudge the victory to themselves. When this was over, they were condemned as heretics; from which sentence Cranmer appealed to the just judgment of the Almighty. But because the kingdom had not, at that time, been reconciled to the Pope, he was to be tried and sentenced upon a new commission. Accordingly, he was arraigned for blasphemy, incontinency, and heresy, before the same commissioners who condemned his fellow prisoners; upon which occasion, vailing his cap, like them, to the Queen's representatives, he covered himself when he looked at the Pope's delegate. Depositions concerning the doctrines he had preached were taken against him, and he was then cited to appear at Rome in person within eighty days, there to make his answer. This, he said, he would be content to do, if the Queen would send him; but this was a mere form and mockery, for he was detained in strait prison; and, at the end of the term, declared contumacious for not appearing, and as such condemned. They did not even wait till the term was expired before they degraded him. Thirlby and Bonner were commissioned to perform this ceremony. The former had been his old and familiar friend, and had received many and great kindnesses from his hands; his tears and emotions shewed that he remembered this. But Bonner officiated with characteristic insolence. The Archbishop submitted calmly to all, saying, he had done with this gear long ago: but he held the crosier fast; and, instead of yielding it, delivered a paper, containing his appeal to a General Council. He was then dressed in a yeoman's threadbare gown and a townsman's cap, and sent back to prison. He was now dealt with very differently from any of the former sufferers; for he was removed to the house of the Dean of Christ Church, and treated there rather as a guest than as a prisoner, with every possible indulgence, and with every mark of real or pretended regard; some, perhaps, acting from sincere attachment to him, others in the hope of prevailing upon a mind which was naturally timid. That they succeeded, is certain. For he signed a recantation of his

former opinions, and concluded it with a protestation, that he had done it freely, only for the discharge of his conscience. The probability is, that the other papers, five in number, wherein he was made to acknowledge, in the most explicit terms, the doctrines which he had repeatedly confuted, and to vilify himself as a mischief-maker and blasphemer, were fabricated by Bonner's directions. The Queen, however, was resolved to make him a sacrifice to her resentments;\* she said, it was good for his own soul that he repented; but since he had been the chief spreader of heresy over the nation, it was necessary to make him a public example. So the writ was sent down to burn him; and after some stop had been made in the execution of it, new orders came for doing it suddenly. This was kept from Cranmer's knowledge; for they intended to carry him to the stake, without giving him any notice, and so hoped to make him die in despair: yet he, suspecting their intentions, wrote a long paper, containing a confession of his faith, such as his conscience, and not his fears, had dictated. It was on the 21st of March, 1556, that he was carried to St. Mary's, where Dr. Cole preached, and vindicated the Queen's justice, in condemning Cranmer; but magnified his conversion much, and ascribed it wholly to the workings of God's Spirit: he gave him great hopes of heaven, and promised him all the relief that dirges and masses could give him

\* "The tender mercies of the wicked are cruel." Such Cranmer found them. When Henry VIII. was resolved to strike terror into his subjects, by openly putting Mary to death, on account of her strong attachment to her mother, and opposition to her divorce, both the Duke of Norfolk and Gardiner looked on, and were unwilling to hazard their own interests by defending her. In this hour of trial and danger, Cranmer was the only person that would adventure to interfere on her behalf. In his gentle way, he told the King that the Princess was young and indiscreet; that it was natural that she should be biassed by her affection for her mother; and that it would appear strange, should he so far forget his feelings as a parent, as to proceed to extremities with his own child; that such a circumstance would diffuse horror through all Europe against him; but that if she were separated from her mother and her people, she might ere long conform to his wishes. In this way did the holy Prelate preserve that life, which now esteemed it its greatest glory to sacrifice his.—So much for the gratitude of bigotry.

in another state. All this while Cranmer was observed to be in great agitation, and floods of tears run from his eyes.\* When the sermon was ended, the preacher desired all the people to pray for the sufferer. They knelt accordingly, and Cranmer knelt with them, praying fervently for himself. Cole then addressed them, saying, "Brethren, lest any one should doubt of this man's earnest conversion and repentance, you shall hear him speak before you; and, therefore, I pray you, Master Cranmer, that you will now perform that you promised not long ago; namely, that you would openly express the true and undoubted profession of your faith, that you may take away all suspicion from men, and that all men may understand you are a Catholic indeed." "I will do it," replied Cranmer, "and that with a good will." He rose then from his knees, and, putting off his cap, said, "Good Christian people, my dearly beloved brethren and sisters in Christ, I beseech you most heartily to pray for me to Almighty God, that he will forgive me my sins and offences, which be many without number, and great above measure. But among all the rest, there is one which grieveth my conscience most of all, whereof you shall hear more in its proper place." Then drawing forth from his bosom a prayer which he had prepared for this occasion, he knelt and said, "O Father of Heaven; O Son of God, Redeemer of the world; O Holy Ghost, three persons in one God! have mercy upon me, most wretched caitiff and miserable sinner. I have offended both against Heaven and earth, more than my tongue can express. Whither then may

\* A Romanist who was present, and who thought that his former life and wretched end deserved greater misery, if greater had been possible, was yet, in spite of his heart-hardening opinions, touched with compassion at beholding Cranmer in a base and rugged gown, and ill-favouredly clothed with a base cap, exposed to the contempt of all men. "I think," said he, "that there was none that pitied not his case, and bewailed not his fortune, and feared not his own chance, to see so noble a Prelate, so grave a counsellor, of so long-continued honour, after so many dignities, in his old years to be deprived of his estate, adjudged to die, and in so painful a death to lose his life." But in this hour of utter humiliation and severe repentance, Cranmer possessed his soul in patience;—never had his mind been more clear or collected, never had his heart been so strong.



I go, or whither shall I flee? To Heaven I may be ashamed to lift up mine eyes, and on earth I find no place of refuge or succour. To thee, therefore, O Lord, do I run; to thee do I humble myself, saying, O Lord my God, my sins be great, but yet have mercy upon me, for thy great mercy! The great mystery that God became man, was not wrought for little or few offences. Thou didst not give thy Son, O heavenly Father, unto death for small sins only, but for all the greatest sins of the world, so that the sinner return to thee with his whole heart, as I do here at this present. Wherefore, have mercy upon me, O God, whose property is always to have mercy! Have mercy upon me, O Lord, for thy great mercy! I crave nothing for mine own merits; but for thy name's sake, that it may be hallowed thereby, and for thy dear son Jesus Christ's sake. And now, therefore, our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name, thy kingdom come," &c. &c.

No prayer had ever been composed and uttered in deeper misery, nor with more earnest and devout contrition. Rising then, he addressed the spectators, not hurrying impatiently to his purpose, but calmly and deliberately. He exhorted them not to set their minds overmuch upon this glozing world, but upon the world to come; and to obey the King and Queen willingly and gladly, not for fear of men only, but much more for the fear of God, knowing that they be God's ministers, appointed to rule and govern, and therefore, whosoever resisteth them, resisteth the ordinance of God. Well aware how little he should be allowed to speak when he came to the point, he still proceeded with a caution which it would have been impossible to have observed thus to the last, if he had not attained to the most perfect self-possession in this trying hour. "And now," he continued, "I come to the great thing which troubleth my conscience, more than any thing that ever I said or did in my whole life; and that is, the setting abroad of writings contrary to the truth; which now here I renounce and refuse as things written with my hand, contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and written for fear of death, and to save my life, if it might be; and that is, all such bills and papers as I have written or signed with my

hand, since my degradation, wherein I have written many things untrue. And forasmuch, as my hand offended, writing contrary to my heart, my hand shall first be punished therefore ; for, may I come to the fire, it shall be first burnt !” He had time to add, “ As for the Pope, I refuse him as Antichrist ; and as for the sacrament, I believe as I have taught in my book against the Bishop of Winchester ; the which my book teacheth so true a doctrine of the sacrament, that it shall stand at the last day before the judgment of God, when the Papistical doctrine, contrary thereto, shall be ashamed to show her face.” The Papists were at first too much astonished to interrupt him. Lord Williams bade him remember himself, and play the Christian man : he answered, that he did so, for now he spake truth : and when he was reproached for falsehood and dissimulation, the meek martyr made answer, “ Ah, my masters, do not you take it so ! Always hitherto, I have been a hater of falsehood, and a lover of simplicity, and never before this time have I dissembled !” and with that he wept again. But when he would have spoken more, the Romanists made an uproar, and Cole said from the pulpit, “ Stop the heretic’s mouth, and take him away !”

Cranmer was now pulled down from the stage, and carried to the stake, surrounded by Priests and Friars, who, with promises of heaven, and threats of everlasting torments, called upon him to renounce errors by which he would otherwise draw innumerable souls into hell with him. They brought him to the spot where Latimer and Ridley had suffered. He had overcome the weakness of his nature ; and, after a short prayer, put off his clothes with a cheerful countenance and willing mind, and stood upright in his shirt, which came down to his feet. His feet were bare ; his head, when both his caps were off, appeared perfectly bald ; but his beard was long and thick, and his countenance so venerable, that it moved even his enemies to compassion. True to his purpose, as soon as the flame rose, he held his hand out to meet it, and retained it there steadfastly, so that all the people saw it sensibly burning before the fire reached any other part of his body ; and often he repeated with a loud and firm voice, “ This hand

hath offended ! this unworthy right hand !” Never did martyr endure the fire with more invincible resolution : no cry was heard from him, save the exclamation of the proto-martyr Stephen, “ Lord Jesus, receive my spirit !” He stood immovable as the stake to which he was bound, his countenance raised, looking to heaven, and anticipating that rest into which he was about to enter ; and thus, “ in the greatness of the flame,” he yielded up his spirit. The fire did its work soon, and his heart was found unconsumed amid the ashes.

Of all the martyrdoms during this great persecution, this was, in all its circumstances, the most injurious to the Romish cause. It was a manifestation of inveterate and deadly malice toward one who had borne his elevation with almost unexampled meekness. It effectually disproved the argument on which the Romanists rested, that the constancy of our martyrs proceeded not from confidence in their faith, and the strength which they derived therefrom ; but from vain glory, the pride of consistency, and the shame of retracting what they had so long professed. Such deceitful reasoning could have no place here : Cranmer had retracted ; and the sincerity of his contrition for that sin was too plain to be denied, too public to be concealed, too memorable ever to be forgotten. The agony of his repentance had been seen by thousands ; and tens of thousands had witnessed how, when that agony was past, he stood calm and immovable amid the flames ; a patient and willing holocaust ; triumphant, not over his persecutors alone, but over himself, over the mind as well as the body, over fear, and weakness, and death. Bommer now seemed not satisfied with single deaths, but sent men in whole companies to the flames ; women themselves were not spared. But the cruelty went yet further : a woman, condemned for heresy, was delivered of a child in the midst of the flames ; some of the spectators humanely snatched it out ; the magistrate, who was a Papist, ordered it to be thrown in again, and it was there consumed with the mother. The perpetrators of such actions were no longer human ; they must have forfeited all pretensions to the name, for hell itself could be guilty of nothing more atrocious. Many were thrown, says

Coverdale, into dungeons, ugsome holes, dark, loathsome, and stinking corners. Others lay in fetters and chains, and loaded with so many irons, that they could scarcely stir. Some were tied in the stocks, with their heels upwards. Some had their legs in the stocks, and their necks chained to the wall with gorgets of iron, having neither stool nor stone to sit upon, to ease their wearied bodies. Others stood in Skevington's givies, which were most painful engines of iron, with their bodies doubled. Some were whipped and scourged, beaten with rods, and buffeted with fists. Some had their hands burnt with a candle, and some were miserably famished and starved.

"Ye have," says Bishop Jewel to Harding, "imprisoned your brethren; ye have stripped them naked; ye have scourged them with rods; ye have burned their hands and arms with flaming torches; ye have famished them; ye have drowned them; ye have summoned them, being dead, to appear before you; ye have taken up their buried carcasses;\* ye have burned them; ye have thrown them out into the dunghill; ye took a poor babe, newly born, and, in most cruel and barbarous manner, threw him into the fire: all these things are true; they are no lies. The eyes and consciences of thousands can witness to your doings; ye slew your brethren cruelly, not for murder or robbery, or any other grievous crime they had committed, but only for that they trusted in the living God."

But all these cruelties served only to create a general feeling of disgust in the nation towards a religion which could sanction such atrocities. The religion of Jesus Christ spread daily more and more, and the zeal of its professors increased in proportion to the efforts of its enemies. The friends of the Gospel, in foreign parts, neglected no opportunity to serve and instruct their afflicted brethren in England, by every method in their power.

\* Referring, probably, to the disinterment and burning of the bones of Bucer and Phagius, at Cambridge. This ceremony was so ludicrous, that the very boors laughed, while they abhorred, at hearing dead men cited to answer for their heresy, and at seeing the Romish officials carrying out the exhumed bones to burn them in the public market-place.

During the four years of this persecution, it appears from authentic records, that the list of sufferers in this reign includes individuals of every rank, age, and description : the blind, the lame, the helpless female, the infant of an hour,—all were committed to the flames. The wealthy, the poor, the priest, and the layman ; the gentleman, the merchant, the artisan, the manufacturer, the labourer, and the beggar, were treated with the same cruelty. Lord Burleigh, the Prime Minister of Queen Elizabeth, states, that during the last four years of Queen Mary, the whole number of those who suffered death for religion, by imprisonment, torture, famine, and fire, amounted to nearly four hundred individuals ; whilst the number of persons *burned alive*, amounted to *two hundred and eighty-eight*. All this not at once ; not by a single act of precipitate fury ; not in one of those paroxysms of passion which, from the absence of wilful design, convert murder into manslaughter, and divest crime of its contriving and purposed malignity ; but deliberately, gradually, and successively, month after month, with unsatiated and unrelenting repetition and perseverance ! It is this which astonishes the mind in the Romish warfare against Protestants, and in its autos-da-fè. To see men of rank, education, sacred office, and well informed intellect, calmly resolving and unhesitatingly exerting themselves to consign thousands of their fellow creatures, of moral habits, worthy characters, and of highly cultivated understandings, to poverty, dungeons, torture, the agonizing stake, for no other cause than a refusal to believe and practise the religious system which the Papal Hierarchy has decided to support,—to perceive such determined and merciless resolutions undeviatingly put into actual and dreadful execution, from generation to generation, and in most countries of Europe,—at such a spectacle, what can the most forbearing spirit, not trained to these perversions, feel or think, on this melancholy subject ? What is this mysterious mutability within us, which, in the true Christian, in the philanthropist of all ages, and in the female bosom of all climes, can be so benevolent, so generous, and so kind ; and yet, when it has become a Catholic Priest, or Jesuit, should thus change in so many to be the unfeeling, the remorseless, the systematic,

and the un pitying persecutor? Nor was the loss and destruction of property inconsiderable. In the last Parliament of her reign, a Member for London openly declared, that, by the proceedings of the last five years, the City of London alone, had lost not less than £300,000; a sum, equal to more than five millions of pounds in the present day. Nor was it in wealth alone that the kingdom suffered: the spirit of the nation sunk; and the character, and with it the prosperity, of the English would have been irrecoverably lost, if God in his mercy had not cut short this abominable tyranny. The Queen was supposed to be with child: humanly speaking, it seemed to depend upon the event, whether England should become a Protestant or a Popish kingdom; and there was such a disposition in the Protestants to believe what they so greatly dreaded, namely, that a supposititious child would be imposed upon them, that many were punished for uttering the opinion with which they were possessed. Provision was made by Parliament, that in the case of the Queen's death, Philip should take upon himself the rule, order, education, and government of the child; and prayers were ordered, that as God, by his servant Mary, had delivered the people out of the hands of heretics and infidels, so he would complete the work by blessing her with a safe delivery, and with a male child. Upon a report of her delivery, the bells rung and processions were made, and public rejoicings took place at Antwerp. But those appearances which had so far deceived the Queen herself, that every preparation, as for her confinement, was made, proved to be but the indications of a mortal disease. Not a week before her death, three women and two men were burnt at Canterbury, and within six days after, Queen Mary died, to the great joy of all who loved the Gospel and feared God, Nov. 17, 1558, and Cardinal Pole on the following day.

The successive deaths of Gardiner, Mary, and Pole terminated for ever the sanguinary dominion of Rome over the English nation; the tyranny of the Papal hierarchy, and the practice of burning alive those who chose to separate the Christianity of the Scriptures from that medley of tradition,

council determinations, Papal decretals, and scholastic logic, which had become the favoured system of the Vatican. Dark and dreary were the prospects of the conscientious and the intellectual, until these three individuals disappeared; because, by attaching all the power of the English crown to the Popish cause, and by exerting all its commanding means of inflicting misery, they put every one in the nation who was not a Papist, under the hopeless necessity of suffering all the wretchedness which they chose to impose, or of revolting against the government which had become the stern and persevering tyrant.

Immediately on the death of Mary, her sister Elizabeth was unanimously declared Queen at the accustomed places, and with the acclamations of the people. Her first act was to take Sir William Cecil into her Council, and appoint him her principal Secretary.

The state of the Church first engaged her early and serious attention; in the reformation of which great moderation and prudence were manifested. Nothing was done with asperity or bitterness. On the plan of avoiding the mischiefs of indiscreet precipitation, to release all the prisoners for religion—to suspend the commissions that had been issued against the Lollards—to prohibit preaching awhile, that the Popish Priests might not excite sedition, which they had begun to do, and that their opponents might not stimulate the people to disputes and violences—to consult privately on the wisest and best means of reinstating the Reformed Religion—and to require all things to remain as they were, till Parliament should revise them—were the first and least offensive measures that were publicly adopted.

The course which Elizabeth's conscience and religious feeling dictated, she determined to pursue with decision and great moderation; humouring, as far as possible, the prejudices of the people, so as not to excite violent opposition. Toleration, in its present sense, could not, indeed, have been anticipated. If she had decided on preserving the Romanism of her sanguinary sister, the Protestants might have expected that she would have continued to enforce the laws against

heresy, though perhaps in a milder degree. If Elizabeth had restored the laws of her father and brother, the Romanists had cause to dread a reaction against themselves, similar to that which had taken place in their favour, at the commencement of the reign of Mary. We cannot judge of the merits or demerits of Elizabeth, unless we take this view of the question. The Marian fires had been but lately extinguished. The lightning by which they had been kindled, still flamed on the Continent, from the red right hand of the Papacy. The laws of nations, the precedents of the former reigns, the custom of the Romanist, the right of retaliation, would have justified the Queen, at that period, in consigning the disobedient recusants to the fate which they had inflicted upon their Protestant countrymen. Yet Elizabeth made greater approaches to toleration than any Prince who had hitherto reigned on any throne in Europe: indulgence, mildness, and forbearance, such as that age had never seen, were freely extended to all; neither were there any violations of this unknown and unthought-of generosity, till repeated acts of treason endangered the safety both of her person and her throne. That the Romanist might not be alarmed or offended, the impatience of the Protestants was repressed by a proclamation, which forbade any preaching on controversial subjects, or any change in the Romish service. Several eminent theologians were commissioned to revise the Service Book of King Edward. The Epistles and Gospels, the Creed, the Liturgy, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments were permitted to be used in English.

When the Parliament met, the Keeper of the Great Seal, Sir Nicholas Bacon, was directed, with a moderation which, at that time, was very unusual, to intreat the members to reunite all classes of the people, by avoiding the extremes of both parties. In consequence of this advice, and in accordance with the known wishes of the Queen, public worship was appointed in the vulgar tongue, the supremacy of the Queen was restored, the acts of Edward, concerning religion, were renewed and confirmed. No laws were made to punish the Romanist persecutors of the former reign, no retaliation was



attempted, no censure was passed, no disapprobation expressed. Unless the Queen had declared herself a Romanist, and acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope, it seems impossible that greater moderation could have been shewn by the Sovereign, or required by the people. The first acts of her Parliament were to repeal the laws passed in the late reign for the restoration of Popery, and to revive those of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., by which the Protestant religion had been established. Persons in office, and the Clergy, were all obliged to take the oath of the Queen's supremacy: maintaining the Pope's supremacy, or acting for it, was made penal, and in the third instance treason. In this Parliament no person was attainted; but, on the contrary, some were restored in blood. On the oath of Supremacy being tendered, thirteen Bishops out of fourteen, (the whole number at that time remaining,) twelve Deans, twelve Archdeacons, fifteen Heads of Colleges, fifty Prebendaries, and eighty Parochial Clergy quitted their preferments. Subsequent Acts, of a severer nature, were enacted, as circumstances demanded a more strict and vigorous administration. The 5th of Elizabeth, c. 1, was, therefore, still more severe against those who should assert the Pope's authority by writing, word, or deed. By the 13th, c. 1, it was made treason to call her title in question; or to affirm, that she was a heretic, schismatic, or infidel; or that the laws and statutes cannot limit the descent of the crown. To maintain also, that any person except the natural issue of her body is or ought to be her successor, was prohibited under severe penalties. This law was evidently levelled against the Queen of Scots and her partizans. Penalties were also inflicted on those who imported crucifixes, &c., into the kingdom. The 23d of Elizabeth, c. 1, imposed more severe penalties on the Catholics: saying, or hearing Mass was made punishable by fine and imprisonment. Some treasonable practices of the Romish Priests had been lately discovered; and about this time the hostile seminaries of Rheims and Douay were instituted. Laws still more severe were passed in the Parliament of her twenty-seventh year; and the exercise of the Catholic religion, which had formerly been prohibited under lighter penalties, and which was in many

instances connived at, was totally suppressed. Such nearly were the internal precautions taken by Elizabeth for the security of her person and government. They were undoubtedly severe. But, at the same time, it must be acknowledged, the dangers with which she was threatened were extreme. Whether milder enactments would have been sufficient to protect her, it is very difficult to decide. It appears, however, that these severe measures were not taken at once, but adopted as different occasions (whether adequate or not) suggested. She was surrounded by foreign and domestic enemies, and every attempt directed against her was carried on under the avowed patronage and sanction of the Church of Rome; so that in every instance the Catholic Church was directly or indirectly concerned.

Her enemies chose to assail her with mysterious conspiracy and undermining rebellion, and then had the effrontery to deny their own treasonable or seditious purposes, and to assert that the remedial statutes which the welfare of the nation had, in the judgment of its government, and to the conviction of the general population, made indispensable, were a cruel, unmerited, Neronian persecution of unoffending piety, and of peaceful innocence. But such virtues would have ensured the respect of Elizabeth, under every form of worship. It was against the criminal, the agitator, and the traitor that the harsh statutes, to which she gave the regal sanction, were alone directed. When religion was the avowed pretext for disturbing the peace, and endangering the safety of the state, it was wisdom, and humanity to her people, to coerce and to restrain the professors of that faith, whose protection and interests had been the professed object of measures hostile to her own safety, and inconsistent with the dignity and welfare of her government.

On the death of Mary, Philip directed his ambassador in England to propose marriage to her. But Elizabeth well knew both her own interests, and the feelings of her people; and she made it the steady maxim of her whole reign, from which she never departed, to rule in their affections, as well as over their persons. She, therefore declined the proposal,

but yet in terms so full of esteem and kindness, as to avoid offence.

All those who were imprisoned on account of religion, were now set at liberty. One about the Court, talking pleasantly with the Queen, said, that he wished to supplicate on behalf of some prisoners not yet set at liberty : she asked who they were. He replied, they were Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, who were still shut up, and whom the people longed much to see abroad. She answered him as pleasantly, that she would first talk with themselves, and see whether they desired such liberty as he requested for them.

All changes were now made with caution, and great prudence. Various learned men, as Bill, Parker, May, Cox, Whitehead, Grindall, and others, were directed to meet and consult about the compilation of a Liturgy ; whilst great care was taken to supply the Universities and public schools with able, moderate, and pious men.

On the 13th of January, 1559, the Queen left the Tower in great state, in order to be crowned. As she entered her chariot, she lifted up her eyes to heaven, “ and blessed God that had preserved her to see that blessed day, and that had saved her, as he did his Prophet Daniel, out of the mouth of lions. She acknowledged her deliverance was only from Him, to whom she offered up the praise of it.” The people were much pleased with her condescension and affability, as she passed through the city ; but nothing pleased them so well as her behaviour when she went under one of the triumphal arches : there a rich Bible was let down to her, as from heaven, by a child, representing TRUTH. She, with great reverence, kissed both her hands, and, receiving THE BOOK, kissed it, and laid it next her heart ; and professed she was better pleased with that present, than with all the other magnificent ones that had that day been made her by the city, which drew tears from the spectators’ eyes.

When the Bill for restoring the supremacy to the crown, which was introduced February 21, 1559, was debated in Parliament, it was opposed by the Bishops. Heath said, that as concerning temporal government, the House could give

Her Highness no further authority than she already had by right and inheritance, not by their gift, but by appointment of God, she being their sovereign Lord and Lady, their King and Queen, their Emperor and Empress. But spiritual government they could not grant, neither could she receive. The Bishop of Chester, speaking upon the same subject, asked, of whom those men, who, in this and other points, dissented from the Catholic Church, learned their doctrine? "They must needs answer," said he, "that they learned it of the Germans. Of whom did the Germans learn it? Of Luther. Well, then, of whom did Luther learn it? He shall answer himself: he saith, that such things as he teacheth against the mass and the blessed sacrament of the altar, he learned of Satan the devil; at whose hands it is like he did also receive the rest of his doctrines." The infamous persecutor, Story, went beyond this in the House of Commons. He boasted of the part he had taken, related with exultation how he had thrown a faggot in the face of an earwig, as he called him, who was singing psalms at the stake, and how he had thrust a thornbush under his feet to prick him; wished that he had done more; and said, he only regretted that they should have laboured at the young and little twigs, when they ought to have struck at the root; words, by which it was understood that he meant the Queen. Even this treasonable insolence did not provoke the government to depart from the temperate course which it had laid down. A public disputation was appointed to be held in Westminster Abbey, not as in Mary's reign, to be concluded by burning those who differed in opinion from the ruling party, but with full liberty of speech, and perfect safety for the Romish disputants. Upon Heath's motion, the Queen ordered that it should be managed in writing, as the best means for avoiding vain altercation: but when it came to the point, the Romanists, upon some difference concerning the manner of disputing, refused to dispute at all. For this contempt of the Privy Council, in whose presence they had met, they were fined. The oath of supremacy being tendered to the Bishops, all of them, except Kitchen, Bishop of Landaff, rejected it, and were immediately

deprived by Elizabeth. There were but fourteen living; many having died in the great mortality at the close of the preceding reign. The vacant Sees were filled by Parker, Grindall, Cox, Sands, Jewel, Parkhurst, Pilkington, and others; men, worthy to be held in lasting remembrance and honour, who had escaped, during the Marian persecution, either by retiring to the continent, or by secreting themselves at home.

The abolition of Auricular Confession, among many other Popish practices, was, at this time, a stroke which cut at once the infinite ramifications with which the Hierarchical despotism had every where entwined its roots, and deprived the Clergy of their enormous influence on princes, and the great, on the women, and in the bosom of every family.

The Liturgy, as reformed by the Divines of King Edward's reign, was now restored, with but little variation: and the injunctions issued by Edward against the use and retaining of Images, were all renewed—the marriage of the Clergy, under some regulations, was allowed—superstitions arising from the use of altars, were taken away; and all things gradually, yet effectually, wrought together, to bring about the Reformation, in the manner in which we now have it.

In reviewing the progress of the English Reformation, it is necessary to bear in mind, that the main doctrines of the Christian Faith, were received by our Reformers from those of Germany: that the labours of Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, and others, prepared the way for those of the English Prelates; most of whom, by their intercourse with foreign Divines, when driven from their own country, during the troubles of Mary's reign, were hospitably received by their brethren abroad, whose spirit, opinions, and zeal they naturally imbibed. The faith of the English Church in its advanced state under Elizabeth, was that for which Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Hooper, Bradford, Saunders, and the other victims of the Marian persecution, fought and died. Others entered into their labours; and we, and all who have succeeded them, reap the now blessed harvest of that field, which they cultivated and watered with their blood.

The measures adopted by the Pope, were, at this time, not less impolitic, than cruel and wicked. It is possible, that Elizabeth would have been content, to have allowed the people to retain their faith, so long as her crown was independent. The conduct of the Pope, and the dissensions he fermented, gradually kindled in Elizabeth's mind, the most anxious apprehension for her individual safety, as well as for that of her throne. The insurrection of Northumberland and Westmoreland was sanctioned by the Pope, who, in his letters, exhorts the insurgents "to persevere in the work, not doubting but that God would grant them assistance—and that if they should die in asserting the Catholic Faith and the authority of the See of Rome, it were better for them, with the advantage of a glorious death, to purchase eternal life, than, by ignominiously living with the loss of their souls, shamefully obey the will of an ungovernable woman." (Pii. V. Epist. p. 290.)

Soon after this exhortation to rebellion, the Pope, in the thirteenth year of the reign of Elizabeth, fulminated the Bull of Excommunication, "out of the fulness of his Apostolic power;" declaring the Queen to be a heretic, and a favourer of heretics. "We declare her," said the Pope, "to be deprived of her pretended title to the kingdom aforesaid, and of all dominion, dignity, and privilege whatsoever; and also the nobility, subjects, and people of the said kingdoms, and all which have in any sort sworn unto her, to be for ever absolved from every such oath, and all manner of duty, of dominion, of allegiance, and obedience. We also command and interdict all and every the noblemen, subjects, and people aforesaid, that they presume not to obey her, or her monitions, mandates, and laws; and those which shall do to the contrary, we do likewise anathematize."

Irritated by this presumptuous and scandalous decree, Elizabeth procured an Act, declaring it to be high treason to affirm that the Queen was not the lawful Sovereign, or to bring into the kingdom, any Bull, Indulgence, or Absolution from the Pope. Matters now threatened so complete a separation of England from Rome, that the Pope declared that it would be of much benefit to Christendom, that Elizabeth

should be destroyed, and that he was ready to aid in person, to spend the whole revenue of the Apostolic See, all the chalices and crosses of the Church, and even his very clothes, to procure her destruction. Thus was gradually established from motives of policy, that separation which was at first suggested by piety to God, and disgust at the superstition of Rome.

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#### CHAPTER XIV.

##### REFORMATION IN SWEDEN, DENMARK, FRANCE, SPAIN, &c.

TURNING to the other kingdoms of Europe, we shall find the dawn of truth rising gradually upon them. The light of the Reformation was now spreading itself far and wide ; and almost all the European States welcomed its salutary beams, and exulted in the prospect of an approaching deliverance from the yoke of superstition and spiritual despotism. Some of the most considerable provinces of Europe had already broken their chains, and openly withdrawn themselves from the discipline of Rome, and the jurisdiction of its Pontiff.

The reformed religion was propagated in Sweden, soon after Luther's rupture with Rome, by one of his disciples, whose name was Olaus Petri, and who was the first herald of religious liberty in that kingdom. The zealous efforts of this missionary were powerfully seconded by that valiant and public spirited prince, Gustavus Vasa Evickson, whom the Swedes had raised to the throne, in the place of Christian, King of Denmark, whose horrid barbarity lost him the sceptre that he had perfidiously usurped. This generous and patriotic hero.

had been in exile and in prison, while the brutish usurper now mentioned, was involving his country in desolation and misery; but having escaped from his confinement, and taking refuge at Lubec, he was there instructed in the principles of the Reformation, and looked upon the doctrine of Luther, not only as agreeable to the genius and spirit of the Gospel, but also as favourable to the temporal state and political constitution of Sweden. The prudence, however, of this excellent prince was equal to his zeal, and accompanied it always: And as the religious principles of the Swedes were in a fluctuating state, and their minds divided between their ancient superstitions recommended by custom, and the doctrine of Luther, which attracted their assent by the power of conviction and truth, Gustavus wisely avoided all vehemence and precipitation in spreading the new doctrine, and proceeded in that important undertaking with circumspection and by degrees, in a manner suitable to the principles of the Reformation, which was diametrically opposite to compulsion and violence. Accordingly, the first object of his attention was the instruction of his people in the sacred doctrines of the Holy Scriptures; for which purpose, he invited into his dominions several learned Germans, and spread abroad through the kingdom the Swedish translation of the Bible that had been made by Olaus Petri.

The Swedish monarch had done every thing in the cause of Christian truth which could be expected from a wise, pious, and magnanimous Prince. Like David, he began by reforming his own court, appointing none to fill the great offices of state, or to approach his person, but religious characters. He visited, *in person*, the whole country, accompanied by pious ministers, particularly by the eminent Olaus Petri, whom he had previously appointed Secretary of Stockholm.

His whole conduct was marked by prudence, piety, and zeal. He boldly withstood the corruptions of the Church of Rome, and yet, by his moderation, he provoked not unnecessarily the opposition of the yet lingering prejudices of his half-reformed subjects.

The Reformation in Sweden continued to proceed with



vigour and discretion, under the protection of Gustavus Vasa, and principally under the direction of Olaus Petri, who, in the year 1529, published an explanation of the great Christian doctrine of *Justification by Faith*, and also a new ritual in the Swedish language, from which the superstition and absurd ceremonies of the Romish Church were excluded.

So zealous was Gustavus in this great work that, in an Assembly of the States, at Westerans, he declared that he would lay down the sceptre, and retire from the throne, rather than govern a people enslaved by the tyranny of the Pope. From this time the Papal Empire in Sweden was entirely overthrown, and Gustavus declared head of the Church.

The war kindled by Ferdinand II., on the subject of the religious capitulation of Bohemia, was designed to effect no less than the utter extirpation of Protestantism, the annihilation of the Germanic constitution and liberty, and the absolute dominion of Austria over the Empire, which would have given the means of extending it still further. This fatal war had lasted twelve years, and notwithstanding the prodigies of valour and constancy of the Confederate Princes, they were on the point of sinking before their powerful adversary, when a hero, the successor of Vasa, the immortal Gustavus Adolphus, left his kingdom, at the head of an invincible army, and, at the expense of his own life, which he lost victorious at Lutzen, saved the liberty of Germany, and, perhaps, of all Europe, and the Creed which he professed in common with the Princes of the Evangelical party, which was the name given to those who had separated from Rome.

In Denmark, the Reformation was introduced as early as the year 1521, in consequence of the ardent desire discovered by Christiern II., that his subjects should be instructed in the doctrines of Luther. This monarch, notwithstanding the cruelty by which his name has been rendered odious, was desirous of delivering his dominions from the tyranny of the Church of Rome. However, the progress of Christiern, in reforming the religion of his subjects, or rather of advancing his own power above that of the Church, was checked, in the year 1523, by a conspiracy, by which he was deposed and banished: his

uncle Frederic, Duke of Holstein and Sleswic, being appointed his successor, conducted the Reformation with much greater prudence than his predecessor. He permitted the Protestant Doctors to preach publicly the sentiments of Luther, but did not venture to change the established government and discipline of the Church. However, he procured the publication of a famous edict, by which every subject of Denmark was declared free to adhere either to the tenets of the Church of Rome, or to the doctrine of Luther. The Papal tyranny was totally destroyed by his successor, Christiern III., who began by suppressing the despotic authority of the Bishops, and restoring to their lawful owners a great part of the wealth and possessions which the Church had acquired by various stratagems. This was followed by a plan of religious doctrine, worship, and discipline, laid down by Bugenhagius, whom the King had sent for from Wittemberg for that purpose; and in 1539 an Assembly of the States at Odensee gave a solemn sanction to all these transactions, and settled that form of Church government which has since been retained.

The first dawn of the Reformation in France appeared in the preaching of Waldo, who, in the twelfth century, brought to light some truths which had been long hidden amidst the ignorance and superstition of the Roman Catholic Church. He complained of the degeneracy of the Church, the supremacy of the Pope, and various other things which he wished to reform. Persecution, of course, soon attended his steps. But, as oftentimes the enemies of religion, by the means which they take to crush a growing spirit of inquiry, only scatter it, so the opposition to the followers of Waldo dispersed the whole body of reformers, and diffused their tenets in France and over the face of Europe. Waldo himself appears to have proclaimed his opinions in various parts of the continent. The Albigenses, so called from the country about Toulouse, where they dwelt, embraced, in a body, the doctrine of reform. It was carried into Calabria, Bohemia, Germany, Flanders, Poland, Spain, and even to the dominions of the grand Sultan. Nor, as we have already observed, has this light ever been extinguished; for it was handed down to Wickliffe, and by him to the

Bohemian martyrs, who delivered it to the German martyrs, awakened as they were to inquiry by the remarkable circumstances which aroused the attention of Luther. Persecution of the most determined kind attended those in France who professed the new doctrines, as they were considered; though in truth, they were old doctrines of Christianity, purified from the corruptions of preceding ages. Many, however, held them fast; and in every class of society was disseminated the information which prepared the minds of men to receive the opinions which, in the sixteenth century, were more plainly developed.

Margaret de Valois, afterwards Queen of Navarre, the sister of Francis, was a zealous friend of the reformed doctrines; and her influence not only softened the asperity of her brother's temper, which might have led him to measures of general violence, but protected the reformers from the dangers to which they were continually exposed. The doctrines of Luther were, however, condemned by the Sorbonne in 1521; and the prevailing spirit of the court was that of persecution. Those who first ventured to preach openly, were burnt alive at the stake. Fabir, Farel, and Leclerc, names dear to the lovers of the French Protestant Church, were amongst the earliest martyrs. The last of them, a woolstapler, first preached the reformed doctrines at Meaux; and for this he was condemned to be scourged on three successive days, and then branded. The next year he was put to death at Metz. At Meaux, the Bishop, Bussonet, was a great favourer of the Reformation; and under his teaching many Christians were raised up, who soon after obtained, by their cruel death, the glorious distinction of the Martyrs of Meaux. During the time of their suffering in the flames, they are said to have sung a chorus of holy melody, which could scarcely be drowned in the yells of their savage persecutors. In the year 1509, Calvin was born at Noyon in Picardy. When twenty years of age, he first preached the doctrines of the Reformation to his countrymen; and seven years afterwards, in 1536, he printed his Institutes, which contain a full, and certainly a very able, statement of his opinions. This work was dedicated, in a preface written with

remarkable elegance of style, to Francis I.; but it does not seem to have produced much effect on the mind of that monarch. Indeed this could scarcely be expected; for he was at that time so given up to pleasure, to war, and to the follies of the age in which he lived, that he could not have had much leisure or inclination to attend to the affairs of religion. So little did he enter into the views of Calvin, that he is recorded to have assisted at Paris at the burning of six martyrs. On the whole, however, he was greatly restrained in his attempts against the Reformers, both by the influence of his sister, and by public opinion, which seems very generally to have inclined towards Protestantism. Two events of considerable interest took place in his reign: the one was, the translation of the French Protestant Bible, which was published by Olivitan, in 1535; the other, the versification of some of the Psalms of David, by Marot.

In 1553, Calvin edited an edition of Olivitan's translation of the Bible, which proved of great benefit to the Church. In 1557, an attempt was made to establish an Inquisition at Paris, after the plan of that in Spain, to put down heretical opinions; but it did no effectual mischief. The King of Navarre, who was also a Prince of the blood, and through whom the title to the crown of France afterwards descended to his son, Henry IV., became about this time a convert to the reformed doctrines.

The murder of Henry II. who had commenced the persecution of his Protestant subjects, in no way abated the severities he had begun. New edicts, more cruel, unjust, and sanguinary than before, were published; a great number of the reformed were arrested; and the melancholy system went on under Francis II., till the conscientious found that they had no alternative between destruction and insurrectionary combinations; and the result was, that in twelve or fifteen years afterwards, a million of human beings fell in France, the victims of the vindictive and cruel resolution of its crown and hierarchy, and of the resistance by arms to its unjust persecutions.

The unexpected death of Francis, in the seventeenth year of his age, on Dec. 4th, 1560, was of critical importance, not

only to the French Reformation, but, as to the actual day of its occurrence, to the very existence of the Bourbon dynasty, which was to have been sacrificed to the Romish religion, and to the ambition of the House of Guise. The King of Navarre, the father of Henry IV., and his brother, the Prince of Conde, were then under arrest, and would in three days more have been executed, the scaffolds having been erected. As Charles IX. was but nine years of age on his accession to the throne, the Queen Mother, the celebrated Catherine de Medicis, persuaded Navarre, whom she released, to allow her to be appointed Regent. At this time Catherine inclined to the reforming party, who had become more numerous than had been known or anticipated. At first great liberty was granted to the reformed; and on the 17th January, 1561, the royal permission was given to the Protestants to exercise their religion outside of towns, and without arms. The effect was, the ministers preached more boldly, and declaimed against the abuses of the Romish Church.

Two years after this period Calvin died. It does not appear that this great man, except at an early period of his life, took directly any personal part in prosecuting the Reformation in France; but it grew up under his inspection; and his authority was the acknowledged human standard of faith and duty. A number of cases, which are cited in the synodal acts of the Church, appear to have been referred to his decision, and are published under the sanction of his name. The great learning, the uncommon acuteness, the undaunted courage, the indefatigable industry and perseverance of Calvin, admirably adapted him to one portion of the duties which he was called to perform. In 1571, the Protestant Church in France had reached its highest point of prosperity. A synod was held at Rochelle, where the the Queen of Navarre, Jean D'Albert, her son, afterwards Henry IV. and two Princes of the royal family, attended. At that time the Protestants had 2150 Churches, some of which contained 10,000 members.

The deepest aversion, however, to the views of the Protestants had long dwelt in the minds of all connected with the court, except the few members of their own body. Pro-

testants were fastened to the stake in the principal streets, and the piles were kindled at such times, that the King might see the Martyrs enveloped by the flames in their full force, at the moment when he should pass by. The Parliament of Paris made a decree, declaring it lawful to kill Hugonots wherever they could be found; and they ordered this decree to be read every Sunday, in every Parish Church. The massacre of St. Bartholomew's day completed the crimes of that guilty city, and made the perfidy of the Romish Church as notorious as its corruption and inhumanity.

Charles IX. survived this event only one year. He lived, however, to repent of his crimes, and to suffer for them. His death was of that kind which it has pleased God often to inflict upon eminent persecutors of his Church. He was tormented in mind and body, and sank into his untimely grave, unhonoured even by his former friends, and unregretted by every lover of his country. During the concluding period of this reign, the Reformed Church was at a very low ebb. There could be no security that the anniversary of St. Bartholomew would not be celebrated with a recurrence of the same disasters. The heads of the Church were gone. Henry of Navarre himself seemed to have been in a sort of imprisonment; and the remainder of the scattered flock could scarcely be collected together. It was not till the year 1578, that another Synod was held, and then no formal notice was taken of the late events. Henry III. succeeded his brother in 1574. He had in early life displayed those qualities which afterwards distinguished him; and the Protestants, therefore, could expect little that was favourable from his reign. His character did not indeed lead him to those daring acts which might have hastened the ruin of the Reformed Church; but his profligacy and folly made him an easy dupe to those whose passions or whose interest led them to desire its extermination. Its destruction was carried on by a more quiet, but not less effectual method than had been before employed. During his reign, the great conflict for independence and religious liberty was being carried on in the Low Countries; and the successful issue of it gave respect and con-

sideration to the Protestant cause, wherever its supporters were found.

At length, in 1589, Henry IV. ascended the throne. Never had a Prince been nurtured amidst greater dangers, concerned in more critical enterprises, or come to a throne more encompassed with difficulties. He had been well educated by his excellent mother, whose prudence and power he inherited, but not her piety. Gay and dissolute in his habits, he lived constantly under the influence of women of evil character. These, however, were in no way suffered to interfere with political matters, which he directed himself, aided by the Duc De Sully, one of the most faithful and able ministers that ever served a monarch. Henry was born in the Protestant faith, and had maintained his profession amidst the greatest temptations to abandon it. He had contended nobly against the religious faction which opposed his cause; and, although inflexibility was not one of his characteristics, he had never, except for a short time after the massacre of St. Bartholomew, been tempted to relinquish his profession. His character was bold and generous, prompt and active, liberal and courteous; and a ruling passion of his mind was the good of his country. In the year 1572, he married Margaret, sister of Charles IX. from whom he was divorced. He married a second time Mary of Medicis. This marriage was the first step by which he allied himself to the Catholics; and it was doubted by some whether to it may not be traced another great error of his life, his abjuration of the Protestant faith, which took place in the year 1592. In the year 1598, however, he granted all his subjects full liberty of conscience by the famous Edict of Nantes, and the Reformation seemed to be established throughout his dominions; but during the minority of Louis XIV. this edict was revoked by Cardinal Mazarine, since which time the Protestants have often been cruelly persecuted; nor has the profession of the Reformed Religion in France, been at any time so safe as in most other countries of Europe.

In the other parts of Europe the cause of the Reformation made a considerable though secret progress. Some countries

threw off the Romish yoke entirely, and in others a prodigious number of families embraced the principles of the Reformed Religion. It is certain indeed, and some Roman Catholics themselves do not hesitate to acknowledge it, that the Papal doctrines and authority would have fallen into ruin in all parts of the world at once, had not the force of the secular arm been employed to support the tottering edifice. In the Netherlands particularly, the most grievous persecutions took place, so that under the authority of the Emperor Charles V. upwards of 100,000 were destroyed, while still greater cruelties were exercised upon the people by his son Philip II. The revolt of the United Provinces, however, and motives of real policy, at last, put a stop to these furious proceedings; and, though in many provinces of the Netherlands, the establishment of the Popish Religion was still continued, the Protestants were delivered from the danger of persecution on account of their principles. In all the provinces of Italy, but more especially in the territories of Venice, Tuscany, and Naples, the superstition of Rome lost ground, and great numbers of people of all ranks expressed an aversion to the Papal yoke. This occasioned violent and dangerous commotions in the kingdom of Naples in the year 1546; which, however, were at last quelled by the united forces of Charles V. and his viceroy Don Pedro di Toledo. In several places the Pope put a stop to the progress of the Reformation, by letting loose the Inquisitors; who spread dreadful marks of their barbarity through the greatest parts of Europe. These formidable ministers of superstition put so many to death, and perpetrated such horrid acts of cruelty and oppression, that most of the reformed consulted their safety by a voluntary exile, while others returned to the religion of Rome, at least in external appearance. But the Inquisition, which frightened into the profession of Popery several Protestants in other parts of Italy, could never make its way into the kingdom of Naples; nor could either the authority or intreaties of the Pope engage the Neapolitans to admit even visiting Inquisitors.

In the earlier years of the Reformation, events occurred in Spain, of a nature the most interesting and surprising, and



which nothing but the prodigious power of the Inquisition has prevented from becoming the admiration and astonishment of posterity. It appears that the Emperor Charles V. and his son Philip II. who succeeded him on the throne of Spain in 1555, conceived measures for the defence of the Church of Rome, which, had they been honestly pursued, would have ensured to those monarchs the applause and gratitude of all posterity. They selected a number of Ecclesiastics, the most distinguished in the Spanish seats of learning for erudition, talents, and piety. These they sent into the Netherlands and Germany, expressly that they might become fully acquainted with the doctrines of the Reformers, and thus might be qualified effectually and unanswerably to refute them. The event was, that all, or nearly all, of these eminent scholars and divines became convinced of the truth of the Protestant doctrines, and returned to Spain glowing with holy zeal to communicate the truth to their countrymen. Their first attempts were very successful. The Gospel light which they communicated, was received by many with full conviction, and was rapidly diffusing itself in all directions. Their success was owing, under the Divine blessing, to the clearness and fervour with which they asserted and established these points: that the Pope is Antichrist; that the worship of Saints and Angels is idolatrous; that the justification of a sinner in the sight of God, can be obtained by no works or merits of his own, but only by faith in the righteousness and atonement of Jesus Christ.

But, by the unquestionably wise and good, though awfully mysterious, permission of Providence, the powers of darkness obtained a complete triumph over these auspicious beginnings. The illustrious confessors, with all who had received their doctrines, or manifested a favourable disposition towards them, were thrown into the prisons of the Inquisition; and partly by torture and other modes of secret murder, and partly by being burned alive at the *autos da fe*, they were all exterminated! This noble army of martyrs included many persons of rank and eminence; but, by the influence of that most diabolical tribunal, whose laws render it penal on the nearest relation to inquire after the fate, or recite the history of its victims, their

very names have been suppressed, and will probably never be completely divulged on earth, unless the archives of the Inquisition, brought to light, as they may some time be, shall disclose the dreadful secrets of the prison-house. It was also the custom to put a gag upon the mouths of those who were publicly executed, in order that no testimony might be borne to truth, or complaint uttered of the infernal wickedness that was practised on the blessed sufferers.

But the hour is at hand, and even now is, when all things shall tend to the establishment of truth; its enemies shall be found liars, and God shall be abundantly glorified. The hand of power cannot always coerce, nor its influence subdue, the progress of the religion of Jesus Christ. We may, therefore, anticipate the now hastening advent of that blessed period, when the God of all Grace will vindicate His own cause, and enable it to triumph over all opposition.

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## CHAPTER XV.

### ON THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE REFORMATION.

EUROPE, plunged for several centuries in stupor and apathy, interrupted only by wars, or rather by incursions and robberies, without any beneficial object to humanity, received, at once, from the REFORMATION, a new life and a new activity. An universal and deep interest agitated the nations, their powers were developed, their minds expanded by new political ideas. Former Revolutions had only exercised men's arms; this employed their heads. The people, who, before, had been only estimated as flocks, passively subject to the

caprice of their leaders, now began to act for themselves, and to feel their importance and utility. Those who embraced the Reformation, made common cause with their princes for liberty; and hence arose, a closer bond, a community of interest and of action, between the Sovereign and his subjects. Both were for ever delivered from the excessive and burdensome power of the Clergy, as well as from the struggle, so distressing to all Europe, between the Popes and the Emperors, for supreme power. Social order was now regulated, and brought nearer to perfection. In one part of Europe, the Church ceased to form an extraneous state within the State; from which it was easy to foretell, that this change would, one day, be effected through the whole of it, and that its head would be reduced to the simple spiritual primacy. At length, the Catholic Clergy reformed their conduct on the example of the Protestants, and gained in manners, knowledge, and esteem, as much as they lost in power and riches.

Nor has science been less a gainer. It is little more than two centuries, since Galileo, having discovered and collected incontestible proofs of the true motion of the earth, was condemned as an heretic, to perpetual imprisonment, by the tribunal of the Inquisition. The ancient system of Roman Catholicism was diametrically opposite to the progress of knowledge; the Reformation which has contributed to free the human mind from such an adversary, must ever be considered as one of the most fortunate epochs in the intellectual culture of modern nations. The opposite system of liberality, of examination, of free criticism, established by the Reformation, has become the *Ægis* under which the Galileos of subsequent ages have been enabled securely to develop their exalted conceptions.

The moral effects of the Reformation on the opinions and conduct of mankind, must not be overlooked. The intention of the Reformers, was, in principle, to free themselves from the despotism and infallibility of the Popes; to depend only on the Sacred Writings for the grounds of their belief; and, in short, to overthrow the scholastic divinity which was become the soul of the Roman Theology, and the firm support

of the Hierarchy. Hence, it follows, that the Reformation, in its essence, must have had an influence on the liberty of men's opinions, judgments, and actions. What its results were, we will briefly enquire.

While the Roman Pontiffs were using their utmost effort to extend their dominion abroad, they did not neglect the means that were proper to strengthen and maintain it at home. On the contrary, from the dawn of the Reformation, they began to redouble their diligence in defending the internal form and constitution of the Church of Rome, against the dexterity and force of its adversaries. They could no more have recourse to the expedient of Crusades, by which they had so often diminished the power and influence of their enemies. The revolutions that had happened in the affairs of Rome, and in the state of Europe, rendered any such method of subduing heretics, visionary and impracticable. Other methods were, therefore, to be found out, and all the resources of prudence were to be exhausted, in support of a declining Church. Hence, the laws and procedures of the Inquisition, were revised and corrected, in those countries where that formidable court is permitted to exert its dreadful power.

Colleges and schools of learning were erected in various places, in which the studious youth were trained up by perpetual exercise, in the art of disputing, that thus they might wield, with more dexterity and success, the arms of controversy against the enemies of Rome. The circulation of such books, as were supposed to have a pernicious tendency, was either entirely prevented, or, at least, much obstructed by certain lists or indexes, composed by men of learning and sagacity, and published by authority, in which these books were marked with a note of infamy, and their perusal prohibited, though with certain restrictions. The pursuit of knowledge was earnestly recommended to the Clergy; and honourable marks of distinction, as well as ample rewards, were bestowed on those who made the most remarkable progress in the cultivation of letters. And to enlarge no farther on this head, the youth in general, were more carefully instructed in the principles and precepts of their religion, than they had formerly

been. Thus, it happens, that signal advantages are frequently derived from what are looked upon as the greatest evils, and much wisdom and improvement are daily acquired in the school of opposition and adversity. It is more than probable, that the Church of Rome would never have been enriched with the acquisitions we have now been mentioning, had it continued in that state of uninterrupted ease and undisputed authority, that nourish a spirit of indolence and luxury ; and had not the pretended heretics attacked its territories, trampled upon its jurisdiction, and eclipsed a great part of its ancient majesty and splendour.

Let us only reflect on the immense train of censures, prohibitions and inquisitors, employed by the Romish Church, to keep every eye closed, at a period in which every new truth became a heresy, that is to say, a crime deserving the severest punishment, and against which, all the rigour of the secular arm was demanded,.....and we shall shudder at the danger incurred by humanity before the sixteenth century. If through a most happy and most unexpected concurrence of favourable circumstances, the mind had not received, one after another, new supports, and new food for its activity, what would the feeble spark of light which began to shine, have become, with the system of oppression and *obscurantism*, adopted by the Court of Rome ? If the Greeks of Constantinople had not emigrated towards the West ; if *Copernicus* in the heavens, and *Columbus* upon the earth, had not enlarged the limits of knowledge ; if the art of printing and the Reformation of the Church, had not issued from the bosom of industrious Germany ; if the colossal power which fettered consciences, and oppressed minds, had not experienced rapid and perceptible attacks, how many ages, perhaps, might the culture of the human race, and the amelioration of the social state have been retarded ? let this question be asked in the south of Germany, of the people of the two Sicilies, of Spain, of Ireland. After having freely examined the state of knowledge in these countries, let an impartial observer satisfy himself, to what degree it has attained in Switzerland, the two Saxonies, Holland, and England, and the contrast will not

escape him. It is not asserted, that in the Catholic countries above named, men of superior talents, and eminent in their age, have not been met with ; but they are rare, and it is the masses of the nations which are to be compared.

It was at Rome, that the first censures of books were invented, and the example was religiously followed by the governments devoted to Rome. Leo X. the vaunted protector of the arts in 1515, promulgated some severe regulations against the printing and publishing of books translated from the Greek, Hebrew, or Arabic. Almost at the same instant, in which, five years after, he fulminated that famous Bull against the Reformer, beginning thus, "Exurge, Deus, judica, causam tuam," in which Luther and all his adherents are assailed with the most terrible anathemas : in which it is indiscriminately prohibited to read all their books, on whatsoever subject they may treat ; at this same instant, this very Pontiff did not blush to publish, in the name of Jesus Christ, a Bull in favour of the profane poems of Ariosto, menacing with excommunication, all who should blame them or impede their circulation. What could be expected from such a spirit, from such an abuse of things, of things which they wished to be respected as holy ; and received as the oracles of heaven itself ?

A Professor of a Bavarian University, was deprived of his employment, some years before the French Revolution, for having required that a copy of *Dictionnaire critique de Bayle*, should be placed in the common library ; these facts, and an infinity of others which are daily making their appearance, characterize the spirit of Catholicism, with respect to the propagation of knowledge, and the freedom of instruction. This maxim of the centuries of the middle age still lives in it, and is kept up as much as it is possible to do so in these times ; "to keep men's minds in perfect stupidity on certain subjects ; to keep as many empty spaces in them as possible, in order to be able to fill them up afterwards at pleasure, and that superstitions may be more conveniently instilled into them."

The Reformation broke all these chains imposed upon the

human mind, and overthrew all the barriers which prevented the free communication of thoughts.

When I recall to mind, says Milton, after so many dark ages, wherein the huge overshadowing train of error had almost swept all the stars out of the firmament of the Church : how the bright and blissful Reformation, by divine power, struck through the black and settled night of ignorance and anti-christian tyranny : methinks, a sovereign and reviving joy must needs rush into the bosom of him that reads or hears ; and the sweet odour of the returning Gospel, imbathe his soul with the fragrancy of heaven. Then was the sacred Bible sought out of the dusty corners, where profane falsehood and neglect had thrown it, the schools opened, divine and human learning raked out of the embers of forgotten tongues ; the princes and cities trooping apace to the new erected banner of salvation ; the martyrs, with the unresisting might of weakness, shaking the powers of darkness, and scorning the fiery rage of the old red dragon.

Nothing remains prohibited by the Reformers, but such productions as public morality or modesty would blush at. To have recalled the remembrance of these chains and these barriers, to have examined the long barbarism which they would have supported upon earth ; is not this to have shewn sufficiently how much the Reformation has contributed to the progress and the universality of knowledge ? In fact, as the career was open by it, men dared publicly to discuss the most valuable interests of humanity, and to speak, as men, of every thing human.

The Roman Church said, "*Submit yourselves to authority, without examination.*" The Protestant Church says, "examine, and submit yourselves only to conviction." The one commanded a blind belief ; the other teaches, with the Apostles, to reject the bad, and to adopt only that which is good.

The principle of examination provokes that knowledge of which it is the friend, as that of blind submission is the votary of ignorance ; and by what means shall we calculate how far the infinite influence of a fundamental principle, which is ad-

mitted for the basis of religious instruction, and, consequently, also, for the moral instruction of a nation, may extend? The man who is free in his inmost soul, looks freely and boldly around him; he becomes enterprising, active, capable of all that is great and useful. He that is a slave in his conscience, a slave in the centre of his being, is so, without perceiving it, in every part of his conduct, debased as he is by the stupefaction and apathy which enervate his faculties. In the time when the Roman Church reigned alone in the West, the absence of all contradiction led to the neglect of all inquiry, and of all study of religious antiquities. Besides, the Church, as we have already seen, opposed an active resistance to all investigations into these matters. It prohibited, with all its power, the teaching of the oriental languages, and the reading of the books of the Old and New Testament. Its system was founded on passages and terms in these books, which it interpreted according to its own views; and on traditions, passages from the holy Fathers, decisions of Councils, Pontifical Bulls, Decretals, Charters, and other pretended historical monuments: to attack this system with effect, and in all its parts, as well as to establish their own on sure foundations, the Protestant Theologians were compelled to penetrate into all the depths of criticism, as well in regard to the languages, in which the originals of the sacred books were written, as to the different branches of sacred and ecclesiastical history. It was of the utmost importance to them to shew, with precision, that this passage was mutilated, or not well interpreted; that that expression had, at the time in which it was written, a totally different meaning from that which was now attributed to it; and so of the rest. Hence, to them the study of orientalism, of the sacred antiquities, (which are intimately connected with the profane antiquities of the East) and, finally, that of languages, which are the necessary key to them, became indispensable. They were obliged to investigate and attain an exact knowledge of places, manners, events, ideas, the whole intellectual culture, the political and private of the different nations, during the periods when this Prophet, or that Evangelist, had written. We have seen, already, that the principal



leaders of the Reformation were very strongly attached studies of this nature, which required the assiduity and phlegm of the North. Is it necessary here to remind the reader of the immense services rendered by the Reformers of different communions, from *Luther, Melancthon, Camerarius, Zwingli, Calvin, the Buxtorfs, &c.* to *Michaelis, Schultens, Lowth, Kennicott*, and others, to oriental literature and antiquities? The study of Greek, so important on account of the New Testament, the Fathers, and the version of the Septuagint, was pursued with at least equal ardour. With respect to the Ecclesiastics, this knowledge is indispensable to them, and it is not uncommon to find them versed in the culture of the oriental languages and antiquities. Thus the impulse was given by the necessity which the Protestants felt, at the first, of acting offensively against the Church of Rome. They were the aggressors, and their existence depended upon conquering the Catholic Theologians. Thus their attention and their efforts were turned towards historical criticism and philosophy. Public education was consequently organized, and this study became as much more esteemed, and more generally in vogue, as the advances of the learned men of the nation became more eminent. The study of languages, and of the sacred and ecclesiastical antiquities, could not, however, belong exclusively to the Protestants. The Catholics were obliged to take measures to defend themselves, and to prove, in opposition to their learned adversaries, that the passages and expressions charged by them to be falsely interpreted, were, on the contrary, explained with justice and truth. Besides, the impulse once given in the republic of European literature, no one could remain behind, and submit to the disgrace of appearing less informed than the adverse party. A great number of Catholics distinguished themselves as much in criticism and philosophy as the Protestants. But it must, nevertheless, be acknowledged, that this study was never so much encouraged, and so universal in the nations attached to Rome, as in those which had separated from it.

Here they gave themselves up to the sciences with the ardour of desire and enthusiasm; they were revered as the

protectors of the public welfare, as the sources of religious and political independence; there they were only handled like dangerous weapons, from which the first attack had been received, and they were only cultivated by compulsion, and through a necessity of defending themselves upon equal terms.

It was thus that Protestantism, by its new method of studying religion, of examining it, and establishing its evidences, gave birth in Europe, and more especially in its own bosom, to a more profound culture of sacred, profane, and ecclesiastical antiquity. Nor can we avoid noticing cursorily, how greatly the whole system of the study of Protestant theology differs from that of Catholic theology. They are two antipodean worlds to each other, having nothing in common, except the name. But, unhappily, this is sufficient to deceive all who judge by the name. The Catholic theology rests on the flexible authority of the decisions of the Church, and, consequently, prohibits to the student every free use of his reason. It has retained the jargon and the barbarous accompaniments of the scholastic divinity; in it may be discovered the works of darkness of the Monks of the tenth century; in short, the greatest happiness that can be experienced by him who has had the misfortune to learn it, is to forget it as soon as possible. The Protestant theology, on the contrary, rests on a system of examination, and on the unfettered use of reason.

With respect to that morality of states, which, rising superior to individual relations, fixes the respective rights of societies and of their members, those of princes and of citizens, as also those of nations with each other, which gives the theory of the laws that of the right of nature, and that of positive right in a civil state, it is not difficult to deduce this evident truth, that the Reformation, which, from its birth, was so intimately in contact with politics, and with every object of public utility, must have directed the minds of men to the sciences connected with the economy and the administration of states. Men, on the contrary, who, in their own country, lived under the continual influence of a foreign authority; who saw around them a powerful secular and regular Clergy, in the possession of the finest domains; in addition to this, raising tithes, the most unincum-

bered produce of the labours of cultivation; these men became incapable of any generous effort, the interest they took in the culture of the soil was without energy. Besides the members of this Clergy were the Pastors, the founders, the depositaries of all the knowledge, the masters of all souls. Employed in the exterior practice of devotion, and in supporting the rights of the Church, they were nearly the only subjects on which they instructed the people. From this resulted a profound ignorance and indolence respecting the most precious interests of men in society. Agriculture, rural economy, and its various branches were in a deplorable state of degradation. Such is nearly their present condition in the fine provinces of Naples and Rome, in Spain and in Portugal: poverty, indolence, immorality, all sorts of vices are engendered among people of such dispositions, whilst the state remains weak and badly governed. What activity, on the contrary, what improvements in agriculture, in rural economy, in the government, strike the attention of an observer in the midst of the cold and infertile fields of Scotland, England, and Holland. There the hand of man creates every thing, because it labours for itself; there it is all powerful, because it is free, and a suitable instruction guides it. The contrast of these indubitable effects of the two religions is more perceptible in Germany and Switzerland, where the different territories, which are intermixed, cause the traveller to pass continually from a Catholic to a Protestant country. Does he meet with a miserable mud cottage, covered with thatch, the fields badly kept, wretched, rude peasantry, and many beggars; he will be in little danger of erring, if he conjecture that he is in a Catholic country. If, on the contrary, neat pleasant houses are seen offering the spectacle of affluence and industry, the fields well enclosed, a culture well understood, it is very probable that he is among Protestants. Thus nature seems to change her aspect, as he who gives her laws enjoys his liberty, more or less, and exercises all his powers in a greater or less degree. Almost all the system of knowledge to be acquired having changed its aspect, it was very necessary that a considerable change should also be effected in the system of public instruction. Luther was the

first who felt the necessity of a reform in this department, and who laboured effectually to produce it. *Melancthon*, and other principal Reformers, being also, like Luther, Professors of Universities, turned their attention to these establishments, and the secondary schools. They purged them, as far as circumstances would admit, from the vices of that monachal and scholastic period.

That which they could not themselves effect, was brought about by degrees, and, very naturally, in the end, by the proper spirit which they introduced. Since the Reformation redoubled the ardour for a knowledge of the ancient languages, the study of which is rendered more necessary and more general, as well among the Catholics as among the Protestants, it cannot be denied that it contributed greatly to the cultivation of the belles lettres, and to the restoration of a good taste. In proportion as the classic works of antiquity, those eternal models of the beautiful, genuine, and sublime were dispersed and read, men's minds were gradually elevated to their pitch, and shook off the barbarism of the grosser ages.

It is to the Reformation also, that we are indebted for that display of divine truth, which, disencumbered of all with which man's wisdom had disfigured and obscured it, now shone forth in all its native freshness, glory, and power. It was for TRUTH, DIVINE TRUTH, as a revelation of FREE GRACE AND MERCY to a lost and sinful world, that the Reformers laboured, suffered, and died. JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH ALONE, through the blood and righteousness of the Saviour, the *Articulus stantis aut Ecclesiæ cadentis* of Luther, was the doctrine which, long buried under the senseless ceremonial of the Romish Church, came forth to gladden the hearts, and revive the hopes of perishing sinners.

In contemplating and reviewing the blessings of this great event, we must decidedly testify that, however desirable and important the other results may have been, it is the manifestation of the truth in all its simplicity, and undisguisedness, which confers the highest honour on, and stamps with the most illustrious dignity, the labourings and the sufferings of the glorious army of Martyrs.

The Reformation produced a great change in the condition of the Papal Church itself, and elicited the promise of considerable and permanent improvement in her character; but those bright hopes, like the day dreams of a vivid imagination, passed hastily away. The clouds which, for a moment, separated to transmit one gleam of light, then closed; and, uniting in a mass as dark and as dense as before, hung lowering on the Roman mountains. The light was exhilarating, but evanescent; the darkness was portentous and abiding; and the storm burst in hailstones and flames of fire. The good done to the Romish Church by the Reformation was soon undone by the Inquisition and the Jesuits.

While the face of the world has undergone so many changes, while the course of human events has advanced, retreated, and diverged in almost numberless directions, and the external circumstances of Popery have corresponded with every change, there is no evidence of the slightest improvement in its essence and nature. Its doctrines are as corrupt, its ceremonies as absurd, and its spirit as Antichristian as ever. Who shall count up the innumerable religious murders which have been perpetrated by Papal Rome? Who shall undertake the sickening task of detailing all her execrable diversified barbarities? In the crusades against the Waldenses and the Albigenses, in the thirteenth century, a million of pious believers were atrociously murdered in France alone. Within little more than thirty years from the first institution of the Jesuits, nine hundred thousand were butchered by the Roman Harlot. In the Netherlands alone, the Duke of Alva boasted that, within a few years, he had slaughtered by the hand of the common executioner, thirty-six thousand. During the space of scarcely thirty years, the diabolical court of the Inquisition destroyed, by various kinds of tortures, a hundred and fifty thousand. Add to these the persecutions of the Lollards, the fires of our own polluted Smithfield, the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and the revocation of the Edict of Nantz, and even then the dreadful tale of woe, and bloodshed, and torture, and proscription will not be fully told. The same spirit still survives, though a bridle has, of late years, been placed in the jaws of

the relentless Harlot. Even in the present day, the venerable remnant of the Waldenses are prophesying in sackcloth, and poverty, and oppression. No Waldense is allowed to practice as a Lawyer or a Physician, save among his own people; no Waldense can purchase land out of his own valleys; no Waldensic Clergyman is allowed to sleep out of his own district; and, with an insolence as paltry as it is ridiculous, a high wall has actually been built before one of the Waldensic Churches, lest the hated sight should contaminate the eyes of some handful of immaculate Papists who happen to live in that particular Canton. In this, however, there is nothing surprising. We have been told again and again, that *the Church of Rome never changes*. Its very existence is owing to worldly policy and power, all its maxims of government are those of state craft and intrigue, its laws are mere human devices, its rewards all secular, and its punishments poverty, imprisonment, tortures, and death. In vain do we seek one spiritual and heavenly principle, motive, or feeling. Faith is absorbed and lost in superstition, hope in the ambition and avarice of an earthly mind, and charity in the intense pursuit of sensual delights.

It is, perhaps, impossible, in the very nature of things, that such another scheme as Popery could be invented. It is, in truth, *the mystery of Iniquity!* able to work itself into the simple, grand, sublime, holy Institutions of Christianity; and so to interweave its abominations with the truth, as to occupy the strongest passions of the soul, and to control the strongest understandings! While Pascal can speak of Popery, as he does, its influence over the mass of the people can excite no surprise. Those two master principles, "That we must believe as the Church ordains,"—and, that "there is no salvation out of this Church," oppose, in the ignorance and fear which they beget, an almost insuperable barrier against the truth. Popery is the master-piece of Satan. "I believe him, says Cecil, incapable of such another contrivance. It was a systematic and infallible plan for forming manacles and mufflers for the human mind. It was a well laid design to render Christianity contemptible, by the abuse of its principles and its institutions. It was formed to overwhelm—to enchant—to

sit as *the great whore, making the earth drunk with her fornications.*"

1. *The Church of Rome teaches the same corrupt Doctrines as in former times.* The doctrines of Popery now, are identically those of the middle ages, when the reign of darkness and ignorance was acknowledged to be of divine right, and received universal and passive obedience. - The same dogmas are now inculcated, as when Kings stooped to kiss the toe of Popes, and Emperors held the stirrup when it pleased his Holiness to ride. To this very day, the Papists maintain, as a fundamental article of faith, the insufficiency of the Holy Scriptures, "contradicting and blaspheming" the word of God himself, in order to substitute for that "sincere milk" the miry puddle of their own traditions. Never, even in the darkest and gloomiest days of monkery, did they more earnestly contend for the divine authority of human commandments, than at the present moment. They attempt, indeed, to disguise this sentiment, by asserting an *equal* authority of unwritten tradition to the written word, but they actually assign to it the superiority; for in all disputed points, the appeal is to tradition; and instead of the voice of God, they impose, as the standard of truth, the fictitious infallibility of fallible men.

The monstrous doctrine of transubstantiation, so repugnant to common sense and common reason, and which sprung up in the corruptest ages, is, with all its absurdities, held as firmly as ever. At no time did the Papists insist more strenuously than at this moment, that the body of Christ is really and locally present in the consecrated wafer; and that the communicants, when pressing the wafer between their teeth, are actually masticating the flesh and blood of their Creator and Redeemer.

The same may be said of another capital article of their Creed, the merit of works of supererogation. Their Church still boasts its rich fund of the meritorious deeds and sufferings of saints and martyrs, out of which they dispense pardons to all who are able and willing to buy. Purgatory, and prayers for the dead retain their full place in the Papist's faith, and continue to be a fruitful source of emolument to the Church.

Images and relics still receive the veneration of the devout; and legends, pretended miracles, and pious frauds, are still, without mitigation or remorse, administered by the Clergy, and swallowed by the laity.

2. *The injunction and observance of exactly the same ritual and ceremonies.* The ceremonies of the Romish Church are so multiform, and so various in their character and analogies, that it is difficult, in many cases, to ascertain their true origin. From whatever source derived, they are, as it respects the worship of God in the Christian dispensation, purely of human invention, or of human appropriation; yet they are still enforced as matter of sacred duty, from which nothing can exempt but an Ecclesiastical dispensation. So long as the Popish Clergy shall rule over the consciences of their votaries, so long will images and relics be revered, the Virgin Mary honoured above her divine Son, holy water sprinkled, and vain and useless ceremonies suffered to take place of rational and spiritual worship.

It is pretended that these ceremonies warm and elevate the devotional feelings of the worshipper, but this pretence is as futile as the ceremonies themselves. True devotion consists in the correspondence of a renewed heart with an enlightened understanding: but this vain and gaudy ceremonial, by satiating and overstraining the imagination, necessarily obscures the intellect, suffocates the affections, and leaves the heart without interest or sensibility. The only faculty accessible to such a ritual, is the imagination, and this it retains no longer than while every thing is fresh and new. The lustre of novelty is soon gone; and, as the varying hues blend, fade, and disappear, excitement altogether fails.

3. *The Church of Rome is as much as ever enamoured of darkness, and shrinks from the light as formerly, with the sensitiveness and irritation of disease.\** Breathing the old spirit

\* The Catholic Church, says Sir Walter Scott, "has grown old, and, unfortunately, does not possess the means of renovating her doctrines, or improving her constitution, so as to keep pace with the enlargement of the human understanding. The lofty claims to infallibility, which she had set up and maintained during the middle ages, claims which she can neither renounce nor mo-



of monopoly, exclusion, and intolerance, she denounces as heretics all who are not within her pale; and repels from her

dify, threaten, in more enlightened times, like battlements too heavy for the foundation, to be the means of ruining the edifice they were designed to defend. *Vestigia nulla retrorsum*, continue to be the motto of the Church of Rome. She can explain nothing, soften nothing, renounce nothing, consistently with her assertion of impeccability. The whole trash which has been accumulated for ages of darkness and ignorance, whether consisting of extravagant pretensions, incredible assertions, absurd doctrines, which confound the understanding, or puerile ceremonies which revolt the taste, are alike incapable of being explained away or abandoned."—Life of Bonaparte, Vol. I. page 36.

Notwithstanding the zealous attempts that were made, at the time of the Reformation, by several persons of eminent piety, to restore the institutions of public worship to their primitive simplicity, the multitude of vain and useless ceremonies still remained in the Church, nor did the Pontiffs judge it proper to diminish that pomp and show, that gave the ministers of religion a great, though ill acquired influence on the minds of the people. Besides these ceremonies, many popular customs and inventions, which were multiplied by the Clergy, and were either entirely absurd, or grossly superstitious, called loudly for redress; and, indeed, the Council of Trent seemed disposed to correct these abuses, and prevent their further growth. But this good design was never carried into execution; it was abandoned either through the corrupt prudence of the Pope and Clergy, who looked upon every check given to superstition as an attempt to diminish their authority; or through their criminal negligence about every thing that tended to promote the true interests of religion. Hence it happens that in those countries where there are few Protestants, and, consequently, where the Church of Rome is in no danger of losing its credit and influence from the proximity and attempts of these pretended heretics, superstition reigns with unlimited extravagance and absurdity. Such is the case in Italy, Spain, and Portugal, where the feeble glimmerings of Christianity, that yet remain, are overwhelmed and obscured by an enormous multitude of ridiculous ceremonies, and absurd, fantastic, and unaccountable rites; so that a person who arrives in any of these countries, after having passed through other nations even of the Romish Communion, is immediately struck with the change, and thinks himself transported into the thickest darkness, into the most gloomy retreats of superstition.

Nor, indeed, are even those countries, whom the neighbourhood of the Protestants, and a more free and liberal turn of mind have rendered somewhat less absurd, entirely exempt from the dominion of superstition, and the solemn fooleries that always attend it; for the religion of Rome, in its best form, and in those places where its external worship is the least shocking, is certainly loaded with rites and observances that are highly offensive to sound reason. If, from this general view of things, we descend to a more circumstantial consideration of the innumerable abuses that are established in the discipline of

communion all who maintain purity of doctrine, or simplicity of worship. The Papists still maintain that the Protestant faith is fundamentally erroneous; that salvation out of their Church is impossible, and, consequently, that all Protestants are in a state of perdition. On this presumption, the members of this Church are actuated by the same spirit of proselytism as their forefathers; and in order to compass their end, are as little scrupulous of the ties of nature, the most sacred duties, or the tenderest charities of human life.

Thus, although the altitude and influence of the Papacy are now little formidable, except to willing vassals, yet, if we examine the interior, we shall find that, notwithstanding the diminution of its power, and the annihilation of its terrors, it is at heart the same as ever. It has the same principles, yields to the same motives, and walks by the same rule as in former days.

The ascendancy of Popery in the world is that evil which Protestants with one heart and voice deprecate, as the most afflictive event which could befall humanity, or indicate the wrath of an offended God. They all tremble at the bare possibility of the subjection of light, and liberty, and life, to darkness, slavery, and death. It does not appear probable that Popery will ever regain its empire. Its influence, however, may still be exceedingly mischievous. The Papal genius never sleeps, no, not for a moment; but directs, and animates, and acts, uniformly and constantly, at home and abroad, in cities, in towns, in villages; it takes aid from stupidity and from ability, from above and from beneath. Protestants ought, therefore, to rouse themselves from that state of apathy, to which they have been re-

that Church, if we attend to the pious, or rather impious frauds which are imposed, with impunity, upon the deluded multitude; in many places, if we pass in review the corruption of the Clergy, the ignorance of the people, the devout farces that are acted in the ceremonies of public worship, and the insipid jargon and trifling rhetoric that prevail in the discourses of the Roman Catholic preachers; if we weigh all these things maturely, we shall find that they have little regard to impartiality and truth, who pretend that, since the Council of Trent, the religion and worship of the Romish Church have been every where corrected and amended.

duced by their too great security and confidence. The very existence of Popery is a great evil, principally to its professors, but also to the world at large; permitted indeed by the all-wise Master of the Universe, but to which we ought not to be indifferent. As the influence of Popery is decidedly hostile to Christianity, it behoves us carefully to observe every indication of its increased activity and success. The deadly wound has been inflicted, and it only languishes out the remainder of a dying life. The Church of Rome, like the house of Saul, shall become weaker and weaker, and the Christian Church, like the house of David, shall become stronger and stronger, until Christ himself ascend his throne, and possess the undivided empire of the world. Yet, as the last convulsive struggles of Leviathan are still formidable and dangerous, let us not be off our guard; and as the adherents of Abner long withstood the righteous claims of David, it behoves us still to watch, not knowing but there may be many a battle yet to fight ere the crowning victory be won. The only atmosphere in which Popery can exist in activity and enjoyment, is composed of uninquiring ignorance, and a passive subjection to human authority; the infusion of any uncongenial element is disease, torpor, and death. But, a system is in operation, daily unfolding its parts and widening its range, which will gradually purify this atmosphere, and eventually abolish every vestige of superstition. The basis of this system is knowledge, and its operation is threefold—by general education—by the free and universal circulation of the Holy Scriptures—and by the preaching of the Gospel to every creature. When the people were utterly untaught, when the Bible was locked up, and the preaching of the Gospel prohibited, then was the empire of Popery most extensive and secure; and could the Popes have rendered all this perpetual, their power would have remained unshaken; but “He who commanded the light to shine out of darkness,” caused some particles to enter that chaos of intellect and sentiment, and thus gave being to the great Reformation.

If such were the effects of knowledge when Rome was in all her power and pride, what shall not knowledge now perform,

possessing the vantage ground, acquiring new strength at every step, and emitting, in every direction, the rays of intellectual, moral, and divine light? Formerly, education was a privilege extending very little beyond the Clergy. There was, at that time, as little idea of instructing the great body of the people, as we should now entertain of imparting knowledge to the brute creation. Of those who, by comparison, might be called learned, very few indeed had made considerable acquirements; and even among the Priesthood, he who could translate the language of his Breviary, and understand the meaning of the words he pronounced while conducting the public service, was a Clergyman of distinction. A man who could read Latin, was, in some capital cases, exempted by benefit of Clergy from the punishment of death. Here and there, a bright star shone conspicuous amid the surrounding gloom; but whenever a man of genius and true learning appeared, it was something so extraordinary and unaccountable, as immediately to excite the suspicion of magical arts, and a compact with Satan.

The Reformation, in connection with the revival of letters, and the invention of printing, produced a considerable change. It soon became necessary, that they who called themselves teachers should at least know something; and when learning opened the way to honour and emolument, many learned men appeared. The rubbish and cobwebs which accumulated in the schools, with the ridiculous jargon of the Dialecticians, which for ages had been substituted for knowledge, were all swept off and abolished. The principles of a sound philosophy were laid as the foundation of a new intellectual structure; and the building was replenished from the rich, though long neglected, stores of literature. Still, however, education was the privilege of rank and office, and learning was confined to the few. It remained for the present generation, to scatter the seeds of knowledge with liberal hand, on the broad surface of the common people. Never, in the whole history of man, were the blessings of instruction so extensively and indiscriminately enjoyed, as at the present moment; and this produces an amazing acceleration of the human mind, so that he who formerly would have been quoted as in the foremost rank,

is now considered as having merely escaped from ignorance. These things, however, are not confined to Great Britain. On the Continent of Europe, in America, and "the isles afar off upon the sea," the high advantages of general education are already appreciated, and will gradually be enjoyed.

When the Apostolic Latimer accompanied to the stake his fellow martyr Ridley, he exclaimed, "We shall this day light such a candle in England, as, by God's grace, shall never be put out." The event verifies the prediction; and we live to enjoy its fulfilment.

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## CHAPTER XVI.

### ADRIAN VI.

FROM the contemplation of the interesting events recorded in the former part of this volume, we now turn to the general details of our History.

Few elections of the supreme Pontiff were ever so strongly contested, as that which ended in the elevation of Adrian VI. as the successor of Leo. X. The struggle in the Conclave lasted fourteen days. The Cardinals entered their temporary prison in two great factions, the Imperial and the French, who contended with each other to have a Pope that would be most pliable to the interest of his Electors. The first person proposed for the dignity was the Cardinal Medici. A part of the Imperial Cardinals favoured him, but the rest joining with the French side firmly against him, his appointment was resolutely negatived. Two Cardinals, whom de Medici supported, *because* he could have governed them, shared the same fate:

other names were voted upon, that were more unbiassed in their politics, but these were also rejected, when the Cardinal Farnese thought he could have carried the triumph; he had eighteen voices immediately, but Colonna turned the scale against him; he struggled on, and reached to twenty-two votes, but could not get beyond that number; and, at every succeeding scrutiny, his supporters were found to lessen, till he became hopeless and withdrew. It was at this period that Wolsey was proposed by his friends, as an indifferent and very fit person; he stood three divisions of the Conclave. On the first he only had nine votes, on the second he had twelve, and on the third a still larger number, but less than twenty, beyond this he could not advance. Three objections were made to him, 1st, he was too young; 2dly, he would adhere to truth, execute justice firmly, would repress the licentiousness of the Roman Court, and, therefore, his discipline was to be dreaded. 3dly, He was not supposed to be very favourable to the Emperor. Others suggested, that if chosen he would make England, not Rome, the seat of his Pontificate. The protracted sessions of this venerated body were distinguished and disgraced by the most violent altercations. Ten times they proceeded to ballot, and as often the inspections shewed that the negations prevailed against all that were proposed. At length a part of the Imperialists suddenly proposed Adrian, the Cardinal of Tortosa, and fifteen voices appeared in his favour; these were too few to avail; but, on being again proposed, four more of the Medicean band added their support. This accession led others to suspect that there was secret bias acting on his side, and several who had voted for others, in order to get thanks by their timely coming in, suddenly added their votes, so that when the eleventh scrutiny took place, twenty-six voices were found to have declared for him. Instantly the determining words were uttered, "*Papam habemus*," we have a Pope; for this number formed the requisite quantity out of the thirty-eight who were present. The French faction were astonished at the event, but it was now unalterable, and, submitting to the necessity, they joined in the acclamation, no one having expected, when the last scrutiny

tiny began, that Adrian could have the least chance of success. Thus to their own amazement and that of all Europe, a stranger to Italy, unknown to the persons who gave their suffrages in his favour, and unacquainted with the manners of the people, or the interest of the state, the government of which they conferred upon him, was unanimously raised to the Papal throne, at a juncture so delicate and critical, as would have demanded all the sagacity and experience of one of the most able Prelates in the Sacred College. The Cardinals themselves, unable to give a reason for this strange choice, on account of which, as they marched in procession from the Conclave, they were loaded with insults and curses by the Roman people, ascribed it to an immediate impulse of the Holy Ghost. It may be imputed, with greater certainty, to the influence of Don John Manual, the Imperial Ambassador, who, by his address and intrigues, facilitated the election of a person devoted to his master's service from gratitude, from interest, and from inclination.

Besides the influence which Charles acquired by Adrian's promotion, it threw great lustre on his administration. To bestow on his preceptor such a noble recompense, and to place on the Papal throne one whom he had raised from obscurity, were acts of uncommon magnificence and power.

It was on the 9th of January, 1522, that this election was thus decided, after the Cardinals had endured a series of privations, which the English Ambassador described with minute fidelity for the amusement of his King, and for the instruction of the Prime Minister. Adrian was a man who, till this event, had been unknown at Rome, and who had not been spoken of,\* but who had been the Tutor of Charles, and was, at that

\* Adrian was born at Utrecht, of mean parents. He was made Dean of St. Peter's, at Louvain, and afterwards Provost at Utrecht. Being appointed tutor to Prince Charles of Austria, King Ferdinand made him Bishop of Tortosa, and through Leo X. he attained to the Cardinal's hat. Upon his exaltation to the Papacy, the people of Utrecht and Holland shewed so much joy, that they wrote upon the tapestry hangings, and walls of their houses, "Utrecht has planted, Louvain watered, and the Emperor given the increase." Under which an arch fellow wrote, "God has done nothing at all in this matter."

time, his chief minister in Spain. Every one in the city was vexed and disappointed at the unexpected choice, and the populace displayed an irritated and vindictive spirit. Their great dread was that he might remove the seat of the Papacy into Spain or Germany, as other Popes had fixed it at Avignon; his long stay in the Spanish peninsula increased this apprehension; he did not leave it till the middle of the summer; but arriving at last at Hostea, in the beginning of September, he entered the disquieted city with such primitive and conscientious humility, that the better sensibilities of the populace were affected, and they cheered his presence with the cordial acclamations of the approving breast. But though the Roman people longed extremely for his arrival, they could not, on his first appearance, conceal their surprise and disappointment. After being accustomed to the princely magnificence of Julius, and the elegant splendour of Leo, they beheld with contempt an old man of an humble deportment, of austere manners, an enemy to pomp, destitute of taste in the arts, and unadorned with any of the external accomplishments which the vulgar expect in those raised to eminent stations. Nor did his political views and maxims seem less strange and astonishing to the Pontifical ministers. He acknowledged and bewailed the corruptions which abounded in the Church, as well as in the Court of Rome, and prepared to reform both; he discovered no intention of aggrandizing his family; he even scrupled at retaining such territories as some of his predecessors had acquired by violence or fraud, rather than by any legal title; and for that reason, he invested Francesco Maria de Roverè anew in the Duchy of Urbino, of which Leo had stripped him, and surrendered to the Dukes of Ferrara several places wrested from them by the Church. To men little habituated to see Princes regulate their conduct by the maxims of morality and the principles of justice, these actions of the new Pope appeared incontestible proofs of his weakness or inexperience. Adrian, who was a perfect stranger to the complex and intricate system of Italian politics, and who could place no confidence in persons, whose subtle refinements in business suited so ill with the natural simplicity and candour of his own character, being



often embarrassed and irresolute in his deliberations, the opinion of his incapacity daily increased, until both his person and government became objects of ridicule among his subjects.

He found the Popedom involved by Leo X. in a debt of 700,000 ducats, to the discharge of which he gave his immediate attention ; but the amiabilities of the man, were lost in the spirit of the Pontiff. Perceiving the growing defection from the Roman Church with great concern, his first care after his arrival in Italy, had been to deliberate with the Cardinals concerning the proper means of putting a stop to it. He was profoundly skilled in Scholastic Theology, and having been early celebrated on that account, he still retained such an excessive admiration of the science, to which he was first indebted for his reputation and success in life, that he considered Luther's invectives against the Schoolmen, particularly Thomas Aquinas, as little less than blasphemy. All the tenets of that Doctor appeared to him so clear and irrefragible, that he supposed every person who called in question or contradicted them, to be either blinded by ignorance, or to be acting in opposition to the conviction of his own mind. Of course, no Pope was ever more bigoted or inflexible, with regard to points of doctrine, than Adrian ; he not only maintained them as Leo had done, because they were ancient, or because it was dangerous for the Church to allow of innovations, but he adhered to them with the zeal of a Theologian, and with the tenaciousness of a disputant. At the same time, his own manners being extremely simple, and uninfected with any of the vices which reigned in the Court of Rome, he was as sensible of its corruptions, as the Reformers themselves, and viewed them with no less indignation. The Brief which he addressed to the Diet of the Empire assembled at Nuremberg, was framed agreeably to these views. On the one hand, he condemned Luther's opinions, with more asperity and rancour of expression, than Leo had ever used ; he severely censured the Princes of Germany, for suffering him to spread his pernicious tenets, by their neglecting to execute the Edict of the Diet of Worms, and required them, if Luther did not *instantly* retract his errors, to destroy him with fire, as a gan-

grene and incurable member, in like manner as Dathan and Abiram had been cut off by Moses, Ananias and Sapphira by the Apostles, and John Huss, and Jerome of Prague by their ancestors.

He repeated the same things in his instructions to his Nuncio; and after having enjoined him to represent to the Princes all that might move them to extirpate the supposed heretics, so far as to tell them that they ought to imitate the zeal of their ancestors; some of whom had carried with their own hands, John Huss to the stake: he concludes with the words of Jeremiah, when he prophesied the ruin of the Moabitish infidels, and which the Pope applied against those Christians, "Cursed is he that doeth the work of the Lord negligently, and who keepeth back his sword from blood." Jeremiah, chap. xlviii. verse 10. He wrote also to John Frederick, Elector of Saxony, letters full of heat, wherein, after having made a bloody invective against Luther and his doctrine, and having exhorted that Prince to abandon him, he fiercely threatens him, that if he does not do it, he should feel the effects of his anger, and that of the Emperor. "I declare to thee," says he, "by the authority of God Almighty, and our Lord Jesus Christ, whose Vicar I am upon earth, that thou shalt not go away unpunished in this present world, and that everlasting fire shall attend thee in the world to come. For we live at the same time together, both I, Adrian, Pope, and the Emperor Charles, whose truly Christian Edict thou hast contemned, which he made against the Lutheran perfidiousness."

These letters wrought but a small effect in the mind of Frederic, who was a pious Prince, and one that loved the truth; nor did they work much upon those of the rest of the Princes assembled at Nuremberg; and the answer which they made deserves to be set down. It contains nearly these articles; "That they could not execute the sentence of the Apostolic See against Luther, nor the Edict of Worms, without incurring themselves very great danger. That the far greater part of the people had been for a long time persuaded that Germany suffered a great many trials on the side of the

Court of Rome, by reason of its abuses, and that all the world was then fully instructed in it, by the writings and tenets of the Lutherans. That if they had rigorously executed the Pope's sentence and the Imperial Edict, the people would have believed that it had been only made to overthrow the truth of the Gospel, and to maintain and defend their evils, and abuses, and impieties. That it was very well done of Adrian, to acknowledge the disorders of the Court of Rome : and that they earnestly entreated him for the glory of God, for the salvation of souls, and for the peace and tranquillity of the public, seriously to put his hand to reform them. That they entreated him also to allow, that the first fruits of benefices, which they had given to the Popes, for them to employ against the Turks, and which his predecessors had turned aside to other uses, should, for the time to come, be remitted into the public treasure of the Empire, to be made use of according to their natural appointment. And as for the remedies which he required of them to put a stop to the course of the Lutheran error, that they saw none more proper, than speedily to call a free and Christian Council, in some town of Germany, wherein it might be allowed to every one, as well of the Clergy, as of the Laity, to speak freely, notwithstanding all oaths and contrary obligations, and to take counsel together for that which they should judge to be good for the glory of God, for the salvation of souls, and the advantage of the Christian commonwealth. That notwithstanding, they would hinder Luther and his followers from writing any more, and they would give order that the preachers should teach nothing but the true, pure, and sincere Gospel, according to the doctrine and explication received and approved in the Christian Church."

This answer extremely displeased the Pope's Nuncio ; he would not that they should speak of a free Council ; for it seemed to him, he said, that by that proposition they would give laws to the Pope. He approved still less, that they should touch upon the troubles of Germany, and the abuses of the Court of Rome. He required nothing but fire and sword against the Lutherans. Therefore he gave them his

reply in writing, in which he insisted that the sentence of Pope Leo, and the Imperial Edict of Worms, which ordained that they should overthrow all the followers of Luther, should be executed according to their form and tenor, without any diminution. And as to the demand for a Council, he said, that they should have made it in terms more respectful, which should have given no grounds of umbrage to the Pope, and that by those clauses, that the Council should be free, and that men should be absolved from their oaths, they seemed to go about to bind the hands of his Holiness. The Princes would, notwithstanding, have nothing changed in their deliberation, which they caused to be drawn up, in the form of an Imperial Edict, and sent their grievances to the Pope, to the number of a hundred articles, which they called *Centum gravamina*.

On the other hand, he, with great candour, and in the most explicit terms, acknowledged the corruptions of the Roman Court, to be the source from which had flowed most of the evils that the Church now felt or dreaded; he promised to exert all his authority towards reforming these abuses, with as much dispatch as the nature and inveteracy of the disorders would admit; and he requested of them to give him their advice, with regard to the most effectual means of suppressing that new heresy which had sprung up among them. "Many abominable things," said he, "have been committed in this Holy Chair, for a long time past, especially in spiritual things *Indeed, every thing is changed to the worse.*"

Nothing more decidedly manifests the deteriorating spirit of Popery, than the fact, that Adrian, treading in the steps of his predecessors, granted an Indulgence, of the nature of which, the following translation will, with but too much accuracy, inform the reader.

"Indulgences granted by Pope Adrian VI. of blessed memory, to some beads or grains which he blessed at the instance of the most illustrious Cardinal Laquinaues Trigermano Barbarino, in the year 1523, and which were confirmed by the most holy Gregory X. on the 26th of May, 1576, and were also confirmed by the most holy Father Pope Paul V. and

were now again confirmed by our holy Father Urban VIII. in the fourth year of his Pontificate.

First,—Whosoever shall have one of these beads, and shall recite a Pater Noster and an Ave Maria, every day, shall take three out of the torments of purgatory ; and if he shall double them on a Sunday or holy-day, he shall take out six.

Second.—If he shall say five Pater Nosters, and five Ave Marias to the honor of the five wounds of Christ, upon a Friday, he shall gain seventy thousand years' pardon and remission of all his sins.

Third.—If he shall every Sunday say seven Pater Nosters, and seven Ave Marias, to the seven joys of our Lady, he shall gain Indulgences without number.

Fourth.—He that cannot go the stations at Rome in Lent, if he shall say five Pater Nosters, and five Ave Marias before a crucifix, he shall gain the said stations within and without the walls of Rome and Jerusalem.

Fifth.—He that shall bring one of these beads along with him, and shall confess and communicate, shall gain a plenary Indulgence, and remission of all his sins.

Sixth.—The Priest that shall confess him, and give him the sacrament, shall likewise gain a plenary Indulgence, and the remission of all his sins ; and moreover, all the Indulgences which are within and without Rome and Jerusalem.

Seventh.— Having communicated, as often as he shall say a Pater Noster and Ave Maria, so many souls he shall take out of purgatory.

His Holiness does likewise grant, that those beads which have been blessed by his Holiness, may touch other beads, which being touched by them, shall have the same graces, saving that those which are touched, cannot touch others."

Adrian, though devoted to the interests of Charles V. endeavoured to assume the impartiality which became the common father of Christendom, and laboured to reconcile the contending Princes, in order that they might unite in a league against Solymán, whose conquest of Rhodes rendered him more formidable than ever to Europe ; but this was an undertaking

far beyond his abilities. To examine such a variety of pretensions, to adjust such a number of interfering interests, to extinguish the passions which ambition, emulation, and mutual injuries had kindled, to bring so many hostile powers to pursue the same scheme with unanimity and vigour, required not only uprightness of intention, but great superiority both of understanding and address.

Adrian terminated his life, and the anxieties of his elevated station, September 14th, 1523, after he had possessed the Papal Dignity one year and ten months; an event so much to the satisfaction of the Roman people, whose hatred or contempt of him augmented every day, that the night after his decease, they adorned the door of his chief physician's house with garlands, adding this inscription, **TO THE DELIVERER OF HIS COUNTRY.** On his tomb was inscribed the following Epitaph:

ADRIANUS PAPA VI. HIC SITUS EST  
QUI SIBI NIHIL INFELICIUS  
IN VITA  
QUAM QUOD IMPERARET  
DUXIT.

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## CHAPTER XVII.

### CLEMENT VII. CAPTURE OF ROME BY BOURBON.

THE Cardinals were again divided into factions in the Conclave, on occasion of the election of Adrian's successor, and contended fiercely with each other for the Pope that would most suit the interests of the party, whose organs they

came to be ; thirty-nine assembled. But among these diverging sects, two principal classes prevailed, and these, as before, were the Imperial and the French. The Cardinal de Medici again headed seventeen or eighteen devoted to his wishes, which all the rest as stoutly opposed, and among these, the Cardinal Colonna was the foremost. The French faction was so combined and determined, that Medici was again defeated, and almost in despair ; but as no Pope could be appointed, unless on twenty-six concurrent votes, which would amount to two-thirds of the thirty-nine, he saw, that if he were not chosen himself, he could, if his friends adhered firmly to him, prevent any other person being nominated in his stead. On this point he fixed his decision ; his supporters promised to be unshaken, and resolved that there should be no Pope, if Medici were disappointed. Assured of their constancy, he also reasoned, that some of the others, seeing this determination, might at last come over to him. The battle was stoutly fought ; fourteen days of struggle had occurred, before Adrian had been appointed ; but on the present occasion, thirty-seven days of conflict had ensued, when the English Ambassador wrote to Wolsey, that “both factions do still continue their pertinacity ; neither have yet inclined to the other.” Medici was named, only to be rejected ; Colonna was disappointed, and tried to get a worthy man, the Cardinal Jacobatias selected ; and as the French party consisted of twenty-two, he urged them to acquiesce, and proposed to Medici, to add the requisite four more, from his staunch band. But the French leaders declared, that they durst not for their lives, support an Imperial Prelate ; and Medici asserted, that “he would rather die in that prison, than condescend to his capital enemies, the French :” but he came at last to a provisional agreement with Colonna, to support Jacobatius, on a promise that if he were rejected, Colonna’s friends should vote for himself. The French party discovered this intrigue, and practised a whole day with the other Cardinals, and endeavoured to excite the mob to rise and overawe the Conclave. This failed ; and the scheming conflict lasted for the extraordinary period of forty-nine days, when the stubborn perseverance of de Medici prevailed.

On the 19th of November, 1523, the clamor of the Roman Nobles and of the populace, at the window of their Great Chamber, inveighing against the nomination of a stranger, determined the wearied Conclave to give the legal majority of their voices, to the persevering de Medici, who, in an happy hour for the religious emancipation of the English mind, and thereby, for its own improvement, and the general benefit of the world, assumed the Popedom, with the name of Clement VII.

High expectations were formed of a Pope, whose great talents and long experience in business, seemed to qualify him no less for defending the spiritual interests of the Church, exposed to imminent dangers by the progress of Luther's opinions, than for conducting its political operations, with the prudence requisite at such a difficult juncture; and who, besides these advantages, rendered the Ecclesiastical State more respectable, by having in his hands the government of Florence, together with the wealth of the family of Medici. By this election, the ambitious views of Cardinal Wolsey, who aspired to the Papal throne, were a second time disappointed. The Cardinal, after all his expectations and endeavours, had the mortification to see a Pope elected, of such an age, and of so vigorous a constitution, that he could derive little comfort from the chance of succeeding him. Wolsey was extremely indignant on the occasion; but Clement endeavoured to soothe his vindictive nature, by granting him a commission to be Legate in England, during life, with such ample powers, as vested in him almost the whole Papal jurisdiction in that kingdom.

Clement excelled Adrian as much in the arts of government, as he was inferior to him in purity of life, or uprightness of intention; he was animated not only with the aversion which all Popes naturally bear to a Council, but having gained his own election very uncanonically, he was afraid of an assembly that might subject it to a scrutiny which it could not stand; he determined, therefore, by every possible means to elude the demands of the Germans, both with respect to the calling of a Council, and reforming abuses in the Papal Court, which the



rashness and incapacity of his predecessor had brought upon him. For this purpose, he made use of Cardinal Compeggio, an artful man, (often intrusted by his predecessors with negotiations of importance,) as his Nuncio, to the Diet of the Empire, assembled again at Nuremberg.

Campeggio, without taking any notice of what had passed in the last meeting, exhorted the diet in a long discourse to execute the edict of the Diet of Worms with vigour, as the only effectual means of suppressing Luther's doctrines. The Diet, in return, desired to know the Pope's intentions concerning the Council, and the redress of the hundred grievances; the former the Nuncio endeavoured to elude by general and unmeaning declarations of the Pope's resolution to pursue such measures as would be for the greatest good of the Church. With regard to the latter, as Adrian was dead before the catalogue of grievances reached Rome, and of consequence it had not been regularly laid before the present Pope, Campeggio took advantage of this circumstance to decline making any definitive answer to them in Clement's name, though at the same time he observed that their catalogue of grievances contained many particulars extremely indecent and undutiful, and that the publishing it by their own authority was highly disrespectful to the Roman See. In the end, he renewed his demand of their proceeding with vigour against Luther and his adherents. But though an Ambassador from the Emperor, who was at that time very solicitous to gain the Pope, warmly seconded the Nuncio with many professions of his master's zeal for the honour and dignity of the Papal See, the *Recess* of the Diet was conceived in terms of almost the same import with the former, without enjoining any additional severity against Luther and his party.

Before he left Germany, Campeggio, in order to amuse and soothe the people, published certain articles for the amendment of some disorders and abuses which prevailed among the inferior Clergy, but this partial Reformation, which fell so far short of the expectation of the Lutherans, and of the demands of the Diet, gave no satisfaction, and produced little effect.

The Nuncio, with a cautious hand, tenderly lopped a few branches, the Germans aimed a deeper blow, and, by striking at the root, wished to exterminate the evil.

The summer of 1525 approachod with its glowing beauties to delight the human taste; but that social peace, which every nation was coveting, did not advance with a sister step. The Pope, whose immediate revenues were consuming, whose foreign supplies were withheld, and whose authority was mocked, while trumpets sounded, and swords and cannon were awing the world, became visibly uneasy. He saw that war was unfavourable to civil subordination, as well as to priestly power. He dreaded the subtraction of Ecclesiastical property for the necessities of the state; and he perceived the aristocracy of Europe to be in danger from the agitations of the multitude. He besought the English Ambassador to urge his Court to procure a general pacification; but he only received lectures instead of obedience, and stooped to apologize from the chair which had so often threatened, excommunicated, and commanded. The Popedom, even before Henry forsook it, was beginning to be but the shadow of itself; and Clement, feeling its altered state, bore the rebuke he received with all the patience of one whose day of arrogance was gone by, and who had now to hear with submission what he had no power to chastise; and whose humiliation would be but multiplied by resenting what he disliked, and could not avert.

The Pope and Wolsey had equally laboured to produce this new war, which became so eventful to all mankind. Its real author was Clement VII. who had sent his Ambassadors to France, England, and Venice, to produce it; and the Cardinal was its zealous abettor; as he did the next year charge Clement VII. with being the actual fabricator of this war, and with deserving whatever calamities it might superinduce;\*

\* By the plenitude of his Papal power, and under the pretence that hard and unjust terms had been extorted from him, while a prisoner in Spain, he absolved the King of France from the oath which he had taken to observe the treaty of Madrid. This right, how pernicious soever in its effects, and destructive of that integrity which is the basis of all transactions among men, was the natural consequence of the powers which the Popes arrogated, as the

and, but that the Sovereign of all, is ever, as the poet says,—

From seeming evils still educating good,  
And better thence again, and better still  
In infinite progression.

we might lament this warlike infatuation, of one who assumed the title of the Vicar of the Prince of Peace; for at no period

infallible viceregents of Christ upon earth. But as, in virtue of this pretended prerogative, they had often dispensed with obligations which were held sacred, the interest of some men, and the credulity of others, led them to imagine that the decisions of a sovereign Pontiff authorized or justified actions which would otherwise have been criminal and impious.

Before Charles V. came to an absolute and open rupture with Clement, he addressed two memorable letters, one of them to the Pope himself, the other to his Cardinals at Rome. In the former he accuses the Pope of ingratitude, putting him in mind that it was by his assistance he had been raised to the Pontifical chair. The King of England, he said, had been called the Protector of the Holy League; whereas that monarch had assured him, in his letters, that he neither had, nor would accept that title, though the Pope had pressed him to do so. The King of France, moreover, made no scruple to own publicly, that before he returned from Madrid to his own country, he had been urged by the Pope to enter into the new alliance; and the Emperor added that he knew the Pope had absolved him from the oath, by which he was bound either to observe the articles of peace, or return to his captivity. He then proceeds to put his Holiness in mind that the Pope of Rome received more money from the subjects of his Imperial Highness, than from all the other Kings of Christendom put together; that a judgment might be formed of the magnitude of those annual receipts, from the hundred grievances which had been presented to his court by the Germanic body; that as Emperor, such had always been his devotion and reverence for the Apostolic See, he had hitherto forbore to listen to the complaints of his German subjects; but that if, for good reasons, he should be driven to withhold these revenues, then the Pope would no longer possess the golden keys which open and shut the gates of war, he would no longer be allowed to carry on hostilities against the Emperor with the money which belonged to the subjects of his Imperial Highness, for that it would certainly be more just for the Emperor to apply that money to the purposes of his own defence. Charles V. then concludes, by roundly telling the Pope, that if he were still determined to go on with the war, and would not listen to the reason she had alleged, he should look upon him as acting not the part of a father, but of the head of a faction; not of a pastor, but of an invader of the just rights of Sovereigns. This, he said, was his ultimatum, and he should appeal to a General Council of the whole Christian world.

2. In his letter addressed to the Cardinals, Charles, with much parade, in-

would it have been easier for the English Cabinet, in concurrence with the Pope, to have led Europe into a long train of general pacification, if either had sincerely desired it, and had with an upright heart negociated singly and directly for that purpose, with half the zeal with which both the Pontiff and Wolsey successfully laboured to rekindle the conflagration of war. In few instances, have the authors of mischief brought down on themselves the retributory punishment more signally, or more to the advantage of mankind, than Clement and his coadjutor did by the hostilities which they thus united to reproduce.

An attack was at this time made on the Pope, by one of the branches of the Colonna. The Cardinal Pompeo Colonna, a man of a turbulent and ambitious temper, at that time the

sists on the purity of his intentions, his great moderation, and continued endeavours to establish peace and tranquillity. "How shocked then, and how disgusted," he said, "must any one be to read the Brieve which had been delivered to him by the Nuncio, and had the sanction of so eminent a Pontiff, and of so many pious and Christian Fathers."

It was evidently written for the express purpose of vilifying and degrading the Emperor, who was the Protector of the Apostolic See. It breathed nothing but war, sedition, false and injurious accusations against himself; and yet there was not any Prince who so much respected the Holy See, or defended its dignity with so disinterested a care. It was his innate reverence for the Roman hierarchy, which had induced him, when he was at the Diet of Worms, to turn a deaf ear to all the importunate complaints and petitions of his German subjects, particularly by forbidding, under a heavy penalty, the intended assembly of the Princes at Spire. He had prohibited that convention, because he foresaw such a meeting would prove disadvantageous to the Pope; and, in order to soothe the Princes under their disappointment, he had then given them hopes of having a General Council in a short time. He had explained all these things with great care to the Pope, and had admonished him to call a Council. He concluded this address to the Cardinals, with requesting them to concur with himself in putting Clement VII in mind of his duty, and in exhorting him to preserve the peace of Christendom, which good purpose would be best effected by the convocation of a General Council without further delay. Then, if the Pope should persist in refusing to hear reason, the Emperor called on the Cardinals themselves to come forward, and, in their own name, summon the Council which was so much wanted. And lastly, if the Reverend Fathers should oppose his equitable requisition, he told them he himself would not fail to use such remedies as God had put in his power, for the protection of religion and the tranquillity of Christendom.

head of the family, had long been Clement's rival, to whose influence in the last Conclave, he imputed the disappointment of all his schemes for attaining the Papal dignity, of which from his known connection with the Emperor, he thought himself secure. To an aspiring mind, this was an injury too great to be forgiven, and though he had dissembled his resentment so far, as to vote for Clement at his election, and to accept of great offices in his Court, he waited with the utmost impatience for an opportunity of being revenged. Don Hugo de Moncado, the Imperial Ambassador at Rome, who was no stranger to these sentiments, easily persuaded him that now was the time, while all the Papal troops were employed in Lombardy, to attempt something which would at once avenge his own wrongs, and be of essential service to the Emperor, his Patron. The Pope, however, whose timidity rendered him quick-sighted, was so attentive to their operations, and began to be alarmed so early, that he might have drawn together troops sufficient to have disconcerted all Colonna's measures; but Moncado amused him so artfully with negotiations, promises and false intelligence, that he lulled asleep all his suspicions, and prevented his taking any of the precautions necessary for his safety, and to the disgrace of a prince, possessed of great power, as well as renowned for political wisdom, Colonna, at the head of three thousand men, seized one of the gates of his capital, while he, imagining himself to be in perfect security, was altogether unprepared for resisting such a feeble enemy. The inhabitants of Rome permitted Colonna's troops, from whom they apprehended no injury, to advance without opposition; the Pope's guards were dispersed in a moment, and Clement himself terrified at the danger, ashamed of his own credulity, and deserted by almost every person, fled with precipitation into the Castle of Saint Angelo, which was immediately invested. The Palace of the Vatican, the Church of Saint Peter, and the houses of the Pope's ministers and servants, were plundered in the most licentious manner: the rest of the city was left unmolested.

Clement, destitute of every thing necessary, either for subsistence or defence, was obliged to demand a capitulation, and

Moncado being admitted into the Castle, prescribed to him, with all the haughtiness of a conqueror, conditions which it was not in his power to reject ; the chief of these was, that Clement should not only grant a full pardon to the Colonnas, but receive them into favour, and immediately withdraw all the troops in his pay, from the army of the confederates in Lombardy.

The Colonnas, who talked of nothing less than of deposing Clement, and of placing Pompeo, their kinsman in the vacant Chair of Saint Peter, exclaimed loudly against a treaty which left them at the mercy of a Pontiff justly incensed against them. But Moncado, attentive only to his master's interest, paid but little regard to their complaints, and by this fortunate measure, broke entirely the power of the confederates.

But the Pope, determining not to keep the treaty he had made with the Imperial Viceroy, and the verbal indignation of France and England encouraging him to persevere in its infraction, he lost the opportunity of withdrawing with security, and with some credit from the war he had excited. He degraded Colonna from his Cardinal's dignity, as that required only a scrawl of his pen ; and he continued his appeal to the sword, which he ought never to have drawn. The truth seems to have been, that no peace would have satisfied him, which did not give the Papal government the temporal predominance in Italy ; and the Emperor's mind was as steadily fixed to prevent this result, as Clement, like his predecessors in the last fifty years, was bent as tenaciously, if possible, to produce it.

The fluctuating spirits of the Pope, which had been agitated by his desire of overcoming his enemies, and by his dread of their punishing him, received at this moment a sudden excitation to warlike exertions, by the money which he received by Vandemont from France, and had obtained at home, and by his expectations of a larger supply ; and hearing that the Viceroy was besieging Frusolone, one of the towns forty miles from Rome, he sent nine thousand picked men to raise the siege, or to give battle to the Imperialists, who were

calculated to be a promiscuous assemblage of twelve thousand men of every description.

The Emperor had sent Cæsar Fieramosca with letters in his own handwriting to the Pope, promising to avenge him against the Colonna, and calling himself his son. The Cardinals being won by this stile, negociations for a truce of two years followed, on condition of the Pope's paying one hundred and fifty thousand ducats, and the Venetians fifty thousand ducats, for which it was necessary to obtain the concurrence of the senate. To allow time for this answer, the Pontiff on the 31st of January, made the suspension of arms with the Viceroy for eight days; by which it was stipulated, that the Papal army should not pass beyond Ferentin, nor the Imperials beyond Frusolone. But after Clement had made this arrangement in a despondence of mind from his necessities, the arrival of the thirty thousand ducats from France, had restored his animation, and the information that his Legate and Reinzi, had joined their forces within five miles of Frusolone, completed his excitation.

To conquer Naples for one of the French king's sons, on his marrying the Pope's niece, the too celebrated Catherine de Medicis, became the new project by which Clement tempted Francis to unite the aggrandizement of the Papal family with that of his own.

The proceedings of the Pope justified the measures which were now resorted to by the Duke de Bourbon, the General of the Imperial forces in Italy; and he set about executing them under such disadvantages as furnish the strongest proof both of the despair to which he was reduced, and of the greatness of his abilities, which were able to surmount so many obstacles. Having committed the government of Milan to Leyva, whom he was not unwilling to leave behind, he began his march, in the depth of winter, at the head of 25,000 men, composed of nations differing from each other in language and manners, without money, without magazines, without artillery, without carriages, in short, without any of those things which are necessary to the smallest party, and which seem essential to the existence

and motions of a great army; his route lay through a country cut by rivers and mountains, in which the roads were almost impracticable; and in addition to his difficulties, the enemy's army, superior to his own in number, was at hand to watch all his motions, and to improve every advantage. But his troops, impatient of their present hardships, and allured by the hopes of immense booty, without considering how ill provided they were for a march, followed him with great cheerfulness. His first scheme was to have made himself master of Placentia, and to have gratified his soldiers by the plunder of that city, but the vigilance of the confederate Generals rendered the design abortive; nor had he better success in his project for the reduction of Bologna, which was seasonably supplied with as many troops as secured it from the insults of an army, which had neither artillery nor ammunition. Having failed in both these attempts to become master of some great city, he was under a necessity of advancing. But he had now been two months in the field; his troops had suffered every calamity that a long march, together with the uncommon rigour of the season could bring upon men destitute of all necessary accommodation in an enemy's country; the magnificent promises to which they trusted, had hitherto proved altogether vain; they saw no prospect of relief; their patience tried to the utmost, failed at last, and they broke out into open mutiny. Some officers who rashly attempted to restrain them, fell victims to their fury: Bourbon himself, not daring to appear during the first transports of their rage, was obliged to fly secretly from his quarters. But this sudden ebullition of wrath began at last to subside, when Bourbon who possessed in a wonderful degree, the art of governing the minds of soldiers, renewed his promises with more confidence than formerly, and assured them that they would be soon accomplished. He endeavoured to render their hardships more tolerable, by partaking of them himself; he fared no better than the meanest sentinel; he marched along with them on foot; he joined them in singing their camp ballads, in which, with high praises of his valour, they mingled many strokes of military raillery on his poverty; and wherever they



came, he allowed them, as a foretaste of what he had promised, to plunder the adjacent villages at discretion. Encouraged by all these soothing arts, they entirely forgot their sufferings and complaints, and followed him with the same implicit confidence as formerly.

Pausing on the eve of a catastrophe, which we may admit to have had few parallels elsewhere, and none in its actual locality, since the days of Alaric and Attila, we cannot but perceive, that no calamity was more deliberately provoked, nor more wilfully dared. A starving, furious, suffering, ungovernable, but fearless army, of thirty-three thousand five hundred enterprising men, under the most consummate commander of the age, was known to be hovering on the passable Apennines, looking greedily around for some great city to plunder, reckless of all actions that would extort what they coveted; and instigated by unrelieved necessities, to attempt the most desperate chances to preserve their existence. It might be valour to set such a mass of land buccaneers at defiance, but it was valour without its better part, discretion. It was neither foresight, common judgment, nor reasonable calculation. It was presumption sleeping on a bursting volcano. It was self-created hope, painting its own facts, and peopling the future as it wished: such an ardour of temporary confidence, suddenly glowed in the bosom of Clement, that he was even planning to send his general, Renzo, from Rome to attack Sienna, as he conceived Bourbon was too much embarrassed in Tuscany, to attempt to proceed to his Imperial city. The most fallible human foresight, seems now to have accompanied the once infallible tiara. On the 2nd of May, this confident security began to relax. We then read in the dispatches from Rome, that "news on that night arrived, that a troop had appeared at Viterbo, demanding food, and announcing that their army was at Aquapendente. This did mightily astonish the Pope, who was this morning in great fear; Renzo being about to levy one thousand men, could not possibly get the sum of one thousand crowns to do it. Some Cardinals have persuaded the Pope to remove himself for more safety to Civita Vecchia." The advice was sound, but like Cassandra's warnings, was

unheeded. Yet to Clement's honor let it be recorded, that when pressed to raise the money he wanted, by appointing Cardinals who would pay for the dignity, he steadily refused at first so to prostitute the highest honor of the Church, next to his own. But Clement was alike distinguished for strong resolutions and sudden mutability; he yielded to the less principled urgency of others, it is painful to add of English Ambassadors, and promised to give the Red Hat to Six Churchmen, for the simoniacal payment of forty thousand crowns, for each person so preferred.

The Pope made three of his intended new Cardinals to raise money, but only to find it impossible, in that short and hurried moment, to get together the coin they were to give; he convened the Roman people, exhorted them to defend themselves in assisting him, and solicited an immediate loan, which one of the richest nullified, by a feeble subscription of a hundred ducats; an expressive indication rather of the Pope's unpopularity, than of the individual's avarice. But Rome was in two factions; the larger part of the Cardinals and the Guelphine faction of the great, favoured the Pope; while five Cardinals, and a strong Ghebelline party, both of nobles and people, with the Colonna family, who always supported the Imperial interests, gave no assistance to avert a crisis, which none of them regretted. The Pope selected Renzo, whom he had before been accustomed to undervalue, as his commander in chief; and committed all things to his control and care; he could raise no new military force, but such arms and hearts as the stables, inns, petty shops, and unemployed rabble could supply. These were armed, and stationed with what regular troops were then remaining at Rome; and every engine of defence which such a city could, on the sudden emergence, supply, was taken to the walls.

Under Clement's feeble conduct, all was now consternation, disorder, and irresolution; he excommunicated Bourbon, and all his troops; branding the Germans with the name of Lutherans, and the Spaniards with that of Moors. Trusting to these ineffectual military preparations, or to his spiritual arms, which were still more despised by rapacious soldiers, he seems

to have laid aside his natural timidity, and contrary to the advice of all his counsellors, determined to wait the approach of an enemy, whom he might easily have avoided by a timely retreat. Yet, though alarmed into activity, they were so sure that the Imperialists could not, from their utter want of food, remain two days before Rome, that no one apprehended any serious danger, even when Bourbon was seen to be marching into the meadows near the city. Many circumstances tempted them to this security. The invading army had no provisions; and that they could, without artillery, and with only manual weapons, capture a strong walled city, before the pursuing army arrived, or famine had driven them away, was not an event within the ordinary course of human experience; and, therefore, did not present itself as a probable result in their deliberating calculations.

If the metropolis of Christendom could have ever justly hoped for peace on earth, or succour from Heaven, it might have sought them at this juncture; for the next morning, on which Bourbon rose to survey the walls of the city, in order to discern a penetrable place, was the noblest day of the Christian's year—the anniversary of his Redeemer's triumphant resurrection. But every contemporary account concurs to prove that, if moral and religious virtues be the conditions of divine assistance, Rome, at no period, had fewer pretensions to expect it. As Astrea was presumed, long before, to have taken her flight from earth, so piety and probity had, for at least half a century, absented themselves from the precincts of the Capitol. Easter Sunday was but a nominal day of festive ceremony to the largest part both of the assailants and the assailed, the leaders and the led; and both were, therefore, left to their human means of attack and defence, and to all those terrible energies and sad results which human ferocity is so ready to exert, and so resolute to occasion.

Bourbon sent to the Pope the mockery of a peaceful trumpet to demand admission into the City, to pass quietly through it towards Naples. The inevitable refusal was supposed to justify a retaliation of hostility, and he urged the troops, notwithstanding the sacred day, to an immediate assault.

But no eloquence could rouse them to the storm before the next day's dawn. All that he could persuade them to agree upon was, to be ready to move to the points he should fix, as soon as the stars began to fade from the earthly gazing eye. Their total want of food prevented all further procrastination; and his own mind was fixed to conquer or to perish. There was, indeed, no other alternative; no enterprize could be more desperately undertaken; destruction from the sword, and famine were sure to accompany defeat. He thus summoned his troops to their staunch resolution by an earnest harangue; "My Captains! all valorous and brave, and you, my soldiers! whom I love! since our grand destiny has led us here, to the very post we have so long wished for, after such villainous roads, such vast snows, and intolerable colds, such torrents of rain, and bogs of mud; amid enemies who allowed us no rest, amid hunger and thirst, without a penny to buy the means of allaying them, and enduring all the wants that nature could make us suffer; now is the time, now is the lucky hour, in which we may shew, by achieving this splendid and noble enterprize, the courage, the spirit, and the strength of your bodies; here you must perish for ever if you be beaten off; or be enriched, renowned, and ennobled for ever, if you conquer. Gain what you see, and every hope of comfort, honor, and glory will be realized by your victory, for then there is not one of your enemies, there will not be a foreign nation that will not tremble at your names, and be confounded with alarm at the waving of your successful swords. If you ever desired to sack a city for its wealth and treasures, behold one now in your sight, the richest of all, the lady of the world; win this triumph, and you will be for life opulent and happy lords, all great men; lose it, and disgrace, misery, and ruin, that none can remedy, will be your immediate fate."

From the plains where they lay encamped he showed his soldiers the palaces and churches of that city, into which, as the Capital of the Christian Commonwealth, the riches of all Europe had flowed during many centuries, without having been once violated by any hostile hand; and commanding them to refresh themselves that night, as a preparation for the

assault next day, promised them, in reward of their toils and valour, the possession of all the treasures accumulated there.

Then appointing who should watch, while the great body reposed, and ordering all to be ready for a most determined and simultaneous assault at the dawn, the Duke laid down for such repose as the agitating moment would allow. The day, at length, dawned on the mutually anxious armies; and the murderous conflict commenced with deeds of desperate and heroic valour on either side.

To be conspicuously seen in the first ranks of danger, the Duke had thrown over his armour a white vestment. The Germans hanging back, from finding the walls not so ascensible as was expected, only roused him to more desperate daring. As an example of unshrinking resolution, he seized a ladder to mount the walls himself, and placing it with his left hand, while his right beckoned to all who saw him, to follow his steps, the shot of an arquebuss struck his left side, passed through his body, and extended him, in an instant, on the earth, a dying corpse. He had sufficient strength and recollection to bid his friend Jonas throw his cloak over him, to conceal his fate awhile from his army. He was carried off, confessed, received the sacrament, desired to be buried at Milan, and died while his men, becoming acquainted with his loss, and seeing their safety hopeless, but from conquest, rushed on the walls with a new fury of desperate revenge. The Prince of Orange now took the command, and animated their spirits; the defenders fought resolutely, they threw down fire, discharged their cannon, and from every point that bore on the spot where they heard the clashing of arms or clamor, their arquebusses and missile weapons were directed on the assailants. Without artillery to make breaches, the Imperialists experienced, in every part, the impossibility of attacking strong and high walls with effect, and though they persevered on the sagacious plan of relieving each other, by a succession of new bands, as those fighting became fatigued, yet they made no impression, and strove and rushed on only to be driven back. Above 4000 of them had perished from the fire of the Roman garrison, and they might have failed of their devoted

prey, if a small party of Spaniards had not discovered a penetrable place.

Stakes and pickaxes were immediately applied to enlarge it, and a body of the Spaniards got through it into the city, before the rest of the army knew of their success; they might have been easily driven back; but although the first person who beheld them was the chief commander of the defence, Renzo himself, yet instead of pausing to ascertain their number, or vigorously charging them, whatever it might be, he was seized with a panic, and communicated it to all his party, by exclaiming instantaneously, and without reflecting upon its consequences, "*the enemies are within us.*"

During the combat, Clement was employed at the high altar of St. Peter's Church, in offering up to Heaven unavailing prayers for victory. No sooner was he informed that his troops began to give way, than he fled with precipitation; and, with an infatuation still more amazing than any thing already mentioned, instead of making his escape by the opposite gate, where there was no enemy to oppose it, he shut himself up, together with thirteen Cardinals, the foreign Ambassadors, and many persons of distinction, in the Castle of St. Angelo, which, from his late misfortunes, he might have known to be an insecure retreat. In his way from the Vatican to that fortress, he saw his troops flying before an enemy, who pursued without giving quarter; he heard the cries of the Roman citizens, and beheld the beginning of those calamities which his own credulity and ill conduct had brought upon his subjects.

Great and small now made a general rush towards the Castle of St. Angelo for safety; Cardinals, Prelates, Nobles, Merchants, Ladies, and Clergy, mixed with the scared soldiers, pressed so eagerly in, that it was some time before the portcullis could be forced down, to admit of the gates being shut and locked.

The Imperial troops now rushing from all parts over the undefended walls on the flying citizens, finding Trastevere, or the part between them and the west bank of the Tiber, equally unresisting, soon entered it, and in about two hours after they had got so unexpectedly into the place, they ventured to pass

the undestroyed bridge into the heart of the city. A stand was here made by two hundred Romans, whom a few brave men had rallied; the Prince of Orange charged them in person; they met the shock valiantly for a time, but were cut down amid their unsupported bravery, and as evening closed the Imperial officers found themselves to have become the absolute masters of the rich, and proud, and domineering metropolis of the Papal hierarchy, and of the Ecclesiastical world.

It is impossible to describe, or even to imagine, the misery and horror of the scene which followed. Whatever a city taken by storm can dread from military rage, unrestrained by discipline; whatever excesses the ferocity of the Germans, the avarice of the Spaniards, or the licentiousness of the Italians would commit, these the wretched inhabitants were obliged to suffer. Churches, palaces, and the houses of private persons, were plundered without distinction. No age, or character, or sex, was exempt from injury. Cardinals, Nobles, Priests, matrons, virgins, were all the prey of soldiers, and at the mercy of men deaf to the voice of humanity. Nor did these outrages cease, as is usual in towns which are carried by assault, when the first fury of the storm was over; the Imperialists kept possession of Rome several months, and, during all that time, the insolence and brutality of the soldiers hardly abated. Their booty, in ready money alone, amounted to a million of ducats; what they raised by ransoms and exactions far exceeded that sum. Rome, though taken several different times by the northern nations, who overran the Empire in the fifth and sixth centuries, was never treated with so much cruelty by the barbarous and heathen Huns, Vandals, or Goths, as now by the bigoted subjects of a Catholic monarch.

After Bourbon's death, the command of the Imperial army devolved on Philibert de Chalons, Prince of Orange, who, with difficulty, prevailed on as many of his soldiers to desist from the pillage, as were necessary to invest the Castle of St. Angelo. Clement was immediately sensible of his error, in having retired into that ill provided and untenable fort. But as the Imperialists, scorning discipline, and intent only on plunder, pushed the siege with little vigour, he did not despair of hold-

ing out until the Duke d' Urbino could come to his relief. That General advanced at the head of an army composed of Venetians, Florentines, and Swiss in the pay of France, of sufficient strength to have delivered Clement from the present danger. But d' Urbino, preferring the indulgence of his hatred against the family of Medici, to the glory of delivering the capital of Christendom, and the head of the Church, pronounced the enterprize to be too hazardous; and, from an exquisite refinement in revenge, having marched forward so far, that his army being seen from the ramparts of St. Angelo flattered the Pope with the prospect of certain relief, he immediately wheeled about and retired. Clement, deprived of every resource, and reduced to such extremity of famine as to feed on asses' flesh, was obliged to capitulate on such conditions as the conquerors were pleased to prescribe. He agreed to pay 400,000 ducats to the army; to surrender to the Emperor all the places of strength belonging to the Church, and, besides giving hostages, to remain a prisoner himself, until the chief articles were performed.

The account of the cruel manner in which the Pope had been treated, filled all Europe with astonishment and horror. To see a Christian Emperor, who, by possessing that dignity, ought to have been the protector and advocate of the Holy See, lay violent hands on him who represented Christ on earth, and detain his sacred person in a rigorous captivity, was considered as an impiety that merited the severest vengeance, and which called for the immediate interposition of every dutiful son of the Church.

The Pope, being unable to fulfil the conditions of his capitulation, still remained a prisoner under the severe custody of Alarcon. The Florentines no sooner heard of what had happened at Rome, than they ran to arms in a tumultuous manner, expelled the Cardinal di Cortona, who governed their city in the Pope's name, defaced the arms of the Medici, broke in pieces the statues of Leo and Clement, and declaring themselves a free state, re-established their ancient popular government. The Venetians, taking advantage of the calamity of their ally the Pope, seized Ravenna and other places belong-



ing to the Church, under the pretext of keeping them in deposit. The Dukes of Urbino and Ferrara laid hold, likewise, on part of the spoils of the unfortunate, whom they considered as irretrievably ruined.

While the French army advanced slowly towards Rome, the Emperor had time to deliberate concerning the disposal of the Pope's person, who was still retained a prisoner in the Castle of St. Angelo. Notwithstanding the specious veil of religion with which he usually endeavoured to cover his actions, Charles, in many instances, appears to have been but little under the influence of religious considerations; and had frequently, on this occasion, expressed an inclination to transport the Pope into Spain, that he might indulge his ambition with the spectacle of the two most illustrious personages in Europe, successively prisoners in his court. But the fear of giving some new offence to all Christendom, and of filling his own subjects with horror, obliged him to forego that consideration. The progress of the Confederates made it now necessary either to set the Pope at liberty, or to remove him to some place of confinement more secure than the Castle of St. Angelo. Many considerations induced him to prefer the former. He now particularly felt his want of money, for paying off the vast arrears due to his army, for obtaining which no resource remained, but the extorting from Clement, by way of ransom, a sum sufficient, without which it was vain to mention to them their leaving Rome.

Nor was the Pope inactive on his part, or his intrigues unsuccessful towards hastening such a treaty. By flattery, and the appearance of unbounded confidence, he disarmed the resentment of Cardinal Colonna, and wrought upon his vanity, which made him desirous of shewing the world, that, as his power at first depressed the Pope, it could now raise him to his former dignity. By favours and promises he gained Morone, who, by one of those whimsical revolutions which occur so often in his life, and which so strongly display his character, had now recovered his credit and authority with the Imperialists. The address and influence of two such men easily removed all the obstacles which retarded an accommo-

dation, and brought the treaty for Clement's liberty to a conclusion, upon conditions hard indeed, but not more severe than a Prince in his situation had reason to expect. He was obliged to advance in ready money 100,000 crowns for the use of the army, to pay the same sum at the distance of a fortnight, and at the end of three months 150,000 more; he engaged not to take part in the war against Charles, either in Lombardy or in Naples; he granted him a Bull of cruzado, and the tenth of ecclesiastical revenues in Spain; and he not only gave hostages, but put the Emperor in possession of several towns, as a security for the performance of these articles. Having raised the first moiety by a sale of Ecclesiastical dignities and benefices, and by other expedients totally uncanonical, a day was fixed for delivering him from imprisonment. But Clement, impatient to be free, after a tedious confinement of six months, as well as full of the suspicion and distrust natural to the unfortunate, was so much afraid that the Imperialists might still throw in obstacles to put off his deliverance, that he disguised himself on the night preceding the day when he was to be set free, in the habit of a merchant; and Alarcon having remitted somewhat of his vigilance upon the conclusion of the treaty, he made his escape undiscovered. He arrived, before next morning, at Orvieto, without any attendants but a single officer, and from thence wrote a letter of thanks to Lautrec, as the chief instrument of procuring him liberty.

In reviewing these events, it cannot but be remarked that any general or troops should have dared such an outrage, was as extraordinary as that it should have been so easily accomplished. It broke the talisman, and dissolved a spell that could never be constructed again. The enchanted giant vanished for ever, and a feeble mortal dared, insulted, threatened, opposed, and endangered whenever his temporal masters pleased or could agree, has only been seen in the Vatican ever since. Before this catastrophe, he knew that he was not the *Servus Servorum* which, in his Bulls, he chose, in dramatic phraseology and with conscious untruth, to style himself; but he has repeatedly been since the servant of Kings and Emperors, subsisting, like the Turkish Sultans in Europe, by their

courtesy, for their political expedience, and from their natural jealousy, unable to break his bondage, resume his sword, or regain his sceptre.

From this period a new order of things began in the Papal hierarchy. It was the Sovereign Lion no more; Bourbon was the Hercules that attacked it, in its royal den, and crushed its mighty strength in the most sanctified seat of its casual, permitted, arrogated, and conceded power. The throne that had for ages been building up by accident, ambition, utility, necessity, affection, and piety, was shattered for ever by the soldiers who took the great intellectual Babylon by storm; and who, divesting the Papacy from all future temporal power in Europe, annihilated its practice of deposing Kings, and of ruling kingdoms; with one permitted exception as to Henry, and with another as to Elizabeth.

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## CHAPTER XVIII.

INTERVIEW BETWEEN CLEMENT AND CHARLES V.—  
REFORMATION IN ENGLAND.—DEATH OF CLEMENT.—  
PAUL III.

IN November, 1529, the Emperor Charles V. proceeded to Bologna to have an interview with Clement. Clement received him on a high raised throne, with his triple crown on his head; and Charles alighting from his horse, ascended the steps, and kissed the Papal foot, which the Pontiff returned by a salute on the Imperial cheek. Their political discussions were soon amicably arranged; for while Clement struggled for all that he could peacefully obtain, he was careful not to provoke his

**military master.** On the 24th of February, 1530, the Emperor received the iron crown of Lombardy, brought from Milan, and the Imperial one of gold, from the hands of the Pope, which Clement put on with a well acted satisfaction.

Charles being extremely anxious to make some reparation for the insults which he had offered to the sacred character of the Pope, and to redeem past offences by new merit, granted Clement, notwithstanding all his misfortunes, terms more favourable than he could have expected after a continued series of success. Among other articles, he engaged to restore all the territories belonging to the Ecclesiastical state, to re-establish the dominion of the Medici in Florence, to give his natural daughter in marriage to Alexander, the head of that family, and to put it in the Pope's power to decide concerning the fate of Sforza, and the possession of the Milanese. In return for these ample concessions, Clement gave the Emperor the investiture of Naples, without the reserve of any tribute, but the present of a white steed in acknowledgment of his sovereignty; absolved all who had been concerned in assaulting and plundering Rome, and permitted Charles and his brother Ferdinand to levy the fourth of the Ecclesiastical revenues throughout their dominions.

During a period of six years, Henry VIII. of England had been suing the Court of Rome for a divorce from Katherine of Arragon, but the Pope negotiated, promised, retracted, and concluded nothing. When the matter was first proposed to Clement, during his imprisonment in the Castle of St. Angelo, as his hopes of receiving liberty depended entirely on the King of England and his ally of France, he expressed the warmest inclination to gratify him. But no sooner was he set free than he discovered other sentiments. Charles, who espoused the protection of his aunt, with zeal inflamed by resentment, alarmed the Pope, on the one hand, with threats which made a deep impression on his timid mind, and allured him, on the other, with those promises in favour of his family which he afterwards accomplished. Under the prospect of these Clement not only forgot all his obligations to Henry, but ventured to endanger the interest of the Romish religion in England, and

to run the risk of alienating that kingdom for ever from the obedience of the Papal See. After amusing Henry, during two years, with all the subtleties and chicane which the Court of Rome can so dextrously employ, to protract or defeat any cause; after displaying the whole extent of his ambiguous and deceitful policy, the intricacies of which history has found it no easy matter to trace or unravel; Clement's vacillation excited Henry's indignation, and he sought other methods of accomplishing his will.

Clement, who had already seen so many provinces and kingdoms revolt from the Holy See, now became apprehensive lest England should follow their example; and he, therefore, determined to give Henry such satisfaction as might still retain him within the bosom of the Church. But the violence of the Cardinals devoted to the Emperor, and the irresistible interference of Charles himself, hurried him, with a precipitation fatal to the Roman See, to issue a Bull, dated January 25, 1532, commanding Henry to recal his Queen, and dismiss Ann Boleyn. Indignant at this conduct, Henry determined for himself this long debated topic, by marrying, about the 25th of January, 1533, Ann Boleyn. On Easter Eve, being April 12, she went in state as his Queen, and on May 28, Cranmer gave sentence that Henry's marriage with Katharine had been illegal, and, therefore, invalid.

The resistance he met with in the accomplishment of his wishes from the Court of Rome, led Henry to question its jurisdiction; the more this was examined the weaker it appeared. From this, to question its discipline and doctrines was only another step; the nation was prepared for it, as they were sufficiently impressed with the abuses of both. It was on the 11th of May, 1532, that Henry declared that "all Prelates at their consecration make an oath to the Pope, clean contrary to that which they make to us, so that they seem to be his subjects, not ours." On the 23rd of March, 1534, the Pontiff issued his final Bull, declaring Katherine's marriage to be valid and canonical, and that Henry should be compelled to cohabit with her as his wife. But an Act of Parliament was now passed, abolishing the Papal power and jurisdiction in

England, and, by another Act, the King was declared supreme head of the Church, and all the authority of which the Popes were deprived were vested in him. But, to the misfortune of individuals, the legal religion of the country remained in the most fluctuating state, depending on Henry's caprice; and as this operated, to maintain the Pope's supremacy was treason, but to deny Popish doctrines, some of them the most unreasonable, was heresy, and punishable by fire; and in this cruel situation were those persons placed, whose public station or private virtue happened in these respects particularly to expose them. The successes, however, that had attended the allies in their opposition to Clement, inspired with new vigour and resolution all the friends of the Reformation; it gave strength to the feeble, and perseverance to the bold. Encouraged by it, those who had been hitherto only secret enemies to the Roman Pontiff, spurned now his yoke publicly, and refused to submit to his imperious jurisdiction. This appears from the various cities and provinces in Germany, which, about this time, boldly enlisted themselves under the religious standard of Luther. On the other hand, as all hope of terminating the religious debates that divided Europe were founded in the meeting of the General Council, which had been so solemnly promised, the Emperor renewed his earnest request to Clement VII. that he would hasten an event that was expected and desired with so much impatience. The Pontiff, whom the history of past Councils filled with the most uneasy and discouraging apprehensions, endeavoured to retard what he could not, with any decency, absolutely refuse. He formed innumerable pretexts to put off the evil day; and his whole conduct evidently showed that he was more desirous of having these religious differences decided by the force of arms than by the power of argument. He, indeed, in the year 1533, made a proposal, by his Legate, to assemble a Council at Rome, Mantua, Placentia, or Bologna; but the Protestants refused their consent to the nomination of an Italian Council, and insisted, that a controversy, which had its rise in the heart of Germany, should be decided within the limits of the Empire. Soon after his sentence against Henry, Clement fell

into a languishing distemper, which terminated his existence, after he had lived fifty-six years, on the 25th of September, 1584, and his Pontificate, after a duration of ten years and ten months; the most unfortunate, both while it continued, and in its effects, that the Romish Church had known for many ages.

Clement VII. was succeeded by Alexander Farnese, who was of Roman descent, from an ancient and noble family. The new Pope, a man of much experience, and of a perspicuous judgment in worldly affairs, assumed the name of Paul III., and his first object was to crush the progress of the Reformation. He was, like his predecessor, enraged at the innovations in Germany, and equally averse from any scheme for Reformation, either in the doctrines of the Church, or the abuses of the Court of Rome. But he was discerning enough to perceive, that much policy and caution were become necessary, to uphold the falling authority to which he was elected; he therefore selected seven of the most distinguished persons in Christendom to be Cardinals; among whom was Signor Contarino, a Venetian nobleman, under whose advice he also appointed a commission of eight persons to report to him, in writing, all that they conscientiously thought ought to be reformed in the Catholic Church. Among a variety of valuable and important recommendations, these Commissioners advised the *abolition of the Conventual Orders*; the execution of their advice was, however, postponed indefinitely. In the meantime, public opinion, as to the necessity of reform, gained strength; and so impressed was Paul of the prudence of some apparent concession, that he announced by his Nuncio, Paulus Vergerius, that he was resolved to call a Council; but, at the same time, he made these three things to be added; that he intended it should be held at Mantua, and not in Germany, that he did not pretend to have any of his rights released, and that he would not endure that a National Council should be held in Germany; upon which, he demanded the answer of the Protestants.

A little after, the Protestants answered to this effect. That having already appealed to a Council, they ardently wished for it; but that, as they had often declared, they demanded a

free Council, that should provide against the disorders of the Church, and make a good Reformation according to the word of God, and in the terms of Christian equity ; and it was a Council so qualified which they appealed to. That the dispute being about matters wherein the See of Rome was visibly interested, and about others, which the Pope defended, not in word only, but by those bloody edicts and extreme cruelties which they exercised against those who did not agree with them, there was no colour of reason that the judgment ought to be in their hands, nor that the Council could be free, if the choice of the place and the persons who should compose it, and the form of procedure which they held, should depend upon their choice. That the Pope having already condemned them and their doctrine, it was against all manner of reason, for him to pretend to be the master of an assembly who should judge both them and the See of Rome. In fine, that the business being a common cause, it was the right of the Emperor and the Princes, in so important an affair, to make choice of the most fit persons, and those who were capable of giving most glory to God, and doing good to the Christian commonwealth : and that as for themselves, as they could not abandon the interests of the truth, they should do also all that lie in their power for the re-establishing of peace and union.

The Pope's Nuncio having received the answer of the Protestants, departed from Germany, and returned to Rome, where, after having made his report, he concluded that nothing more was to be thought on, than to oppress the Protestants by force of arms. This Nuncio, who was Vergerius, had had divers conferences with them, and even with Luther himself, whom he had laboured to gain by threats and promises ; but he could not obtain his designs. This forced the Pope powerfully to solicit the Emperor, who, at that time, came to Rome, openly to declare war against the Protestants ; and he had in this two great interests, the one to employ the Emperor, whose power he feared in Italy, and the other to overwhelm the Protestants with his greatest force, without embarrassing himself by holding a Council. The Emperor consented to the desires of the Pope, who was resolved, only to give a greater



colour to the war, that a Council should be first called, to let them see that he had tried fair means before he came to violence ; but that he should call it under such conditions, as that the authority of the See of Rome should not incur any danger. A Bull was therefore drawn up, dated June the 12th, 1536 ; the convocation of it was at Mantua, on the three and twentieth of May of the year following ; and the Emperor having solicited the Protestants to go thither, they made nearly the same answers that they had already done : they remonstrated, therefore, in the first place, "That the calling of a Council could not of right belong to the Pope alone, as well as by reason that the disorders and corruptions of which they complained, and desired a Reformation, came for the most part from the See of Rome and its creatures, which, for some ages since, had infected religion with divers errors and superstitions, and which, moreover, had been wholly overthrown in the government of the Church ; as because also, that that See was already the openly declared enemy to the Reformation, and those who demanded it, having condemned them for heretics, and persecuted them in all places by fire and sword. So that having to give an account of all that to a Council, it was against all reason to leave the calling of a Council to the Pope alone, which of right ought to belong to the Emperor and the Princes." Secondly, they noted, "That the Pope by his Bull, pretended to frame the Council out of his creatures, who were bound to him by an oath, and to remain also himself the judge and master of all the difference, which was a manifest fallacy and injustice, the firmer to establish his authority under the pretence of a Council, and those abuses, the defence of which he had undertaken." In the third place, they took notice, "That the Pope in his Bull, had said nothing of the manner of proceeding which they ought to use in the Council, from whence they concluded that his intent was, to make those things which they should treat of there, to depend upon the determination of his See, human traditions, and the decrees of some later Councils, and not upon the word of God alone. That by this means, that would be no more a free and Christian Council, but a Roman conventicle ; which

instead of tending to a holy Reformation, could, on the contrary, lead to nothing but the confirmation of those evils which had for so long a time infested the Church. As to the place where this pretended Council was called, they represented, "That it was not just that it should be in Italy, where they could have no security for themselves; nor any liberty of opinion in a good conscience; and that the Imperial assemblies who had demanded it, had always demanded that it should be in Germany: that they, therefore, besought the Emperor, that he would be pleased to consider their reasons, and to endeavour that the Council should be lawful, to the end they might happily unite to the glory of God, and the peace of Christendom; not forgetting what had happened at the Council of Constance to the Emperor Sigismund, who saw his authority trampled under their feet, and his letters of safe conduct violated, in the persons of John Huss, and Jerome of Prague." They caused in the end a writing to be printed, containing all these reasons, and divers others too long to transcribe, to justify themselves against the calumnies of their adversaries, and they published it, not only in Germany, but also in foreign countries. Some time after the Pope published another Bull, by which he prolonged the holding of the Council, under the pretence that he could not agree with the Duke of Mantua, and a little after he assigned it to Vicenza.

Paul had began his spiritual reign, by giving a Cardinal's hat to each of his two grandsons, the eldest of whom was only six years old. Nor must we imagine, that the two scarlet robed nurslings had sprung from the Father of the Faithful, either under the blessing of the Church in wedlock, previous to his elevation to the purple, or that they were both the issue of only one living proof of a transient frailty. Alexandro Farnese, and Guido Ascanio Sforza, the two diminutive eminences, were the Pope's grandsons; the first by his Holiness' son, Pietro Alagrio; the second, by the Holy Father's daughter, Constanza. One of the transactions which, more than any other, divided Paul's attention to the Council of Trent, during the first sessions, was the separation of Parma and Placentia from the Patrimony of the Church, to which they had been

annexed, by that military Pope, Julius II., to bestow them on his own son, Pietro Aloyrio. It is curious, indeed, to see a Pope, so practically acquainted with the consequences of Romish celibacy, and so encumbered with the cares of an unlawful progeny, convoke a Council to curse any one who should question the laws which bind the priesthood to perpetual continency. But these anomalies produce little impression upon the true Sons of Rome.

In the year 1538, Paul thundered out his Bull of excommunication against Henry VIII. of England, by which the monarch was deprived of his kingdom, his subjects were absolved from their allegiance, and the whole island placed under an interdict.—But Henry's power was too firmly rooted to be shaken.

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## CHAPTER XIX.

### INSTITUTION OF THE ORDER OF THE JESUITS.

THE year 1540, was rendered memorable by the establishment of the Order of the Jesuits, whose institution originated in the extraordinary fanaticism of Ignatius Loyola, a Spanish gentleman, who, to the austerity of the monk, added the usual portion of fanatical zeal. His chief ambition, however, was to become the founder of a religious community. For this purpose, he produced a plan or order, suggested, as he affirmed, by immediate inspiration, and hastening to Rome, presented it to the Pope. Paul III. appeared at first inclined to reject the proposal of the zealous monk : Loyola, however, recommended his plan by an offer too powerful to be resisted.

Besides the three monastic vows of poverty, chastity and submission to the rules of the order, he engaged that all his followers should *swear fealty and devoted obedience to the See of Rome* ; that they should acknowledge themselves the servants of the Pope, upon the earliest signification of his wishes, to execute his commands, and to support his authority.

At a time when the Papal authority had received such a shock by the revolt of so many nations from the Romish Church ; at a time when every part of the Popish system was attacked with so much success, the acquisition of a body of men thus peculiarly devoted to the See of Rome, and whom it might set in opposition to all its enemies, was an object of the highest consequence. Paul instantly perceiving this, confirmed the institution of the Jesuits ; by his Bull, granted the most ample privileges to the members of the Society ; and appointed Loyola to be the first General of the Order. The event has fully justified Paul's discernment in expecting such beneficial consequences to the See of Rome from this institution. In less than half a century, the Society obtained establishments in every country that adhered to the Roman Catholic Church ; its power and wealth increased amazingly ; the number of its members became great ; their character as well as accomplishments, was still greater ; and the Jesuits were celebrated by the friends, and dreaded by the enemies of the Roman faith, as the most able and enterprising Order in the Church. The constitution and laws of the Society were perfected by Laynez and Aquivira, the two generals who succeeded Loyola, men greatly superior to him in abilities, and in the science of government.

The primary object of almost all the monastic orders is to separate men from the world, and from any concern in its affairs. The Jesuits, on the contrary, were taught to consider themselves as formed for action. They were chosen soldiers, bound to propagate the Popish faith over the world, and to defend it wherever it might be attacked. Hence this fraternity were not pent up within the walls of a cloister, nor brought up in ignorance.

In the solitude and silence of the monastery, the monk is

called to work out his own salvation, by extraordinary acts of mortification and piety : he is dead to the world, and ought not to mingle in its transactions ; he can be of no benefit to mankind, but by his example, and by his prayers. On the contrary, the Jesuits are chosen soldiers, bound to exert themselves continually in the service of God, and of the Pope, his Vicar on earth. Whatever tends to instruct the ignorant, whatever can be of use to reclaim, or to oppose the enemies of the Holy See, is their proper object. That they may have full leisure for this active service, they are totally exempted from those functions, the performance of which is the chief business of other monks : they appear in no processions, they practice no rigorous austerities, they do not consume one-half of their time in the repetition of tedious offices, but they are required to attend to all the transactions of the world, on account of the influence which these may have upon religion : they are directed to study the dispositions of persons in high rank, and to cultivate their friendship ; and by the very constitution, as well as genius of the order, a spirit of action and intrigue is infused into all its members.

They are well instructed in all the learning, and sophistry, and arts of the Church of Rome. And the more effectually to gain the objects of their institution, they are scattered over all countries, mingled in all societies, and engagad in all professions. Some of them are lawyers, some of them physicians, some of them theological teachers, many of them schoolmasters and private tutors, and not a few of them mechanics. By thus engaging in all the different pursuits of life, and mingling in all societies, they possess a knowledge of what is every where transacted. This knowledge they communicate to the Superior of the order in the country where they reside ; whatever information he receives, is transmitted to the superior of the whole order at Rome, who finally communicate it to the Pope. By means of this society, the Popes have had their spies at all courts, and in all countries ; and know almost as well what was going on in the different regions of the globe, as if they themselves had been personally present.

Loyola, full of the ideas of implicit obedience, appointed

that the government of his order should be purely monarchical. A General, chosen for life by deputies from the several provinces, possessed power that was supreme and independent, extending to every person, and to every case. He, by his sole authority, nominated provincials, rectors, and every other officer employed in the government of the society, and could remove them at pleasure. In him was vested the sovereign administration of the revenues and funds of the order. Every member belonging to it was at his disposal, and, by his uncontrollable mandate, he could impose on them any task, or employ them in what service soever he pleased. To his commands they were required not only to yield outward obedience, but to resign up to him the inclinations of their own wills, and the sentiments of their own understandings. They were to listen to his injunctions as if they had been uttered by Christ himself. Under his direction they were to be mere passive instruments, like clay in the hands of the Potter, or like dead carcasses incapable of resistance. Such a singular form of policy could not fail to impress its character on all the members of the order, and to give a peculiar force to all its operations. There is not in the annals of mankind any example of such a perfect despotism exercised, not over Monks shut up in the cells of a Convent, but over men dispersed among all the nations of the earth.

As the Constitutions of the order vest in the general such absolute dominion over all its members, they carefully provide for his being perfectly informed with respect to the character and abilities of his subjects. Every novice who offers himself as a candidate for entering into the order, is obliged to *manifest his conscience* to the superior, or to a person appointed by him; and in doing this is required to confess not only his sins and defects, but to discover the inclinations, the passions, and the bent of his soul. This manifestation must be renewed every six months. The society, not satisfied with penetrating, in this manner, into the innermost recesses of the heart, directs each member to observe the words and actions of the novices; they are constituted spies upon their conduct, and are bound to disclose every thing of importance concerning them to the

Superior. In order that this scrutiny into their character may be as complete as possible, a long noviciate must expire, during which they pass through the several gradations of rank in the society, and they must have attained the full age of thirty-three years, before they can be admitted to take the final vows, by which they become *professed* members. By these various methods the Superiors, under whose immediate inspection the novices are placed, acquire a thorough knowledge of their dispositions and talents. In order that the General, who is the soul that animates and moves the whole society, may have under his eye every thing necessary to inform or direct him, the provincials and heads of the several houses are obliged to transmit to him regular and frequent reports, concerning the members under their inspection. In these they descend into minute details with respect to the character of each person; his abilities, natural or acquired, his temper, his experience in affairs, and the particular department for which he is best fitted. These reports, when digested and arranged, are entered into registers kept on purpose, that the General may, at one comprehensive view, survey the state of the society in every corner of the earth, observe the qualifications and talents of its members, and thus choose, with perfect information, the instruments which his absolute power can employ in any service for which he thinks meet to destine them.

As it was the professed intention of the Order of Jesuits to labour with unwearied zeal in promoting the salvation of men, this engaged them, of course, in many active functions. From their first institution they considered the education of youth as their peculiar province; they aimed at being spiritual guides and confessors; they preached frequently, in order to instruct the people; and they set out as missionaries to convert unbelieving nations. The novelty of the Institution, as well as the singularity of its objects, procured the order many admirers and patrons. The governors of the society had the address to avail themselves of every circumstance in its favor; and, in a short time, the number, as well as influence of its members, increased wonderfully. Before the expiration of the sixteenth century, the Jesuits had obtained the chief direction of the

education of youth in Europe. They had become the Confessors of almost all its monarchs, a function of no small importance in any reign; but under a weak Prince, superior even to that of Minister. They were the spiritual guides of almost every person eminent for rank or power. They possessed the highest degree of confidence and interest with the Papal Court, as the most zealous and able champions for its authority. The advantages which an active and enterprising body of men might derive from all these circumstances are obvious; they formed the minds of men in their youth, they retained an ascendant over them in their advanced years; they possessed, at different periods, the direction of the principal Courts in Europe; they mingled in all affairs, they took part in every intrigue and revolution; the general, by means of the extensive intelligence which he received, could regulate the operations of the order with the most perfect discernment, and by means of his absolute power could carry them on with the utmost vigour and effect.

Together with the power of the Order, its wealth continued to increase, when various expedients were devised for eluding the obligation of the vow of poverty. The Order acquired ample possessions in every Catholic country, and by the number, as well as magnificence, of its public buildings, together with the value of its property, moveable or real, it vied with the most opulent of the monastic fraternities. Besides the sources of wealth common to all the regular Clergy, the Jesuits possessed one which was peculiar to themselves. Under the pretext of promoting the success of their missions, and of facilitating the support of their missionaries, they obtained a special license from the Court of Rome, to trade with the nations which they laboured to convert. In consequence of this, they engaged in an extensive and lucrative commerce, both in the East and West Indies. They opened warehouses in different parts of Europe, in which they vended their commodities. Not satisfied with trade alone, they imitated the example of other commercial societies, and aimed at obtaining settlements. They acquired possession, accordingly, of a large and fertile province



in the southern Continent of America, and reigned as sovereigns over some hundred thousand subjects.

As it was for the honor and advantage of the society, that its members should possess an ascendant over persons in high rank, or of great power, the desire of acquiring and preserving such a direction of their conduct with greater facility, has led the Jesuits to propagate a system of relaxed and pliant morality, which accommodates itself to the passions of men, which justifies their vices, which tolerates their imperfections, which authorizes almost every action that the most audacious or crafty politician would wish to perpetrate.

As the prosperity of the Order was intimately connected with the preservation of the Papal authority, the Jesuits, influenced by the same principle of attachment to the interests of their society, have been the most zealous patrons of those doctrines which tend to exalt Ecclesiastical Power on the ruins of Civil Government. They have attributed to the Court of Rome a jurisdiction as extensive and absolute as was claimed by the most presumptuous Pontiffs in the dark ages.\* They have

\* On this point the subsequent awful confessions, as drawn up by Jesuits and forced upon converts to Popery in Hungary at the time of their public renunciation of the Protestant faith, are deserving extensive circulation among Protestants, to exhibit the pernicious nature and tendency of Popery, to endear to them the happy privileges they now enjoy, and to warn them against that fatal misery into which they must plunge, should they again fall under the sway of Jesuitical tyranny. The confessions are translated from a German book called "Urania," and are there extracted from a book published by G. Ch. Fr. Monike, at Greifswalde, 1823, under the title, "On the History of the Hungarian Form of Curses:"—

"1. We believe and confess that under the peculiar care of our high authorities, both spiritual and civil, we have by the diligence and aid of the Rev. Fathers, the Jesuits, been brought from the heretical way and faith to the true Roman Catholic and saving one, and that we have embraced the same voluntarily and without any compulsion, we now make our public confessions to the world with our mouth and tongue.

"2. We confess that the Pope at Rome is the head of the Church, and that he cannot err.

"3. We confess and believe that the Pope at Rome is the Representative of Christ, and has full power to forgive and to retain sin arbitrarily, and to cast into Hell and to excommunicate whomsoever he pleases.

contended for the entire independence of Ecclesiastics on the Civil Magistrates. They have published such tenets concerning the duty of opposing Princes who were enemies of the Catholic Faith as countenanced the most atrocious crimes, and tended to dissolve all the ties which connect subjects with their rulers.

In regard to the doctrines of this society, it appears from their own writers, that these were of the most pernicious kind; they taught "That the natural dominion of sin in the human mind, and the hidden corruption it has produced in our internal frame, are *less universal* and *dreadful*, than is generally represented—that human nature is far from being deprived of all power of doing good—that the succours of grace are administered to all mankind, in a measure sufficient to lead them to eternal life and salvation—that the operations of grace offer no violence to the faculties and powers of nature, and, therefore may be *resisted*—and that God, from all eternity, has appointed everlasting rewards and punishments, as the portion of man in a future world, not by an absolute and unconditional decree, but in consequence of that divine prescience by which he foresaw the actions, merits, and character of every individual." Besides, they endeavoured to diminish the authority and importance of the Scriptures, extolled the power of human nature, represented the mediation and sufferings of Christ as less powerful and meritorious than they are declared to be in the Sacred Writings, turned the Roman Pontiff into a terrestrial deity, and put him almost upon an equal footing with the Divine Saviour, and finally, rendered, as far as in

"4. We confess that every new thing instituted by the Pope, whether it be contained in the Scriptures or not, whatsoever he has commanded, is true, divine, and saving, which the common man has to value more than the commandments of the living God.

"5. We confess that the most holy Pope is to be honoured by every one with divine honour, just as it is due to the Lord Christ himself.

"6. We confess and maintain that the Pope is to be heard by all men in all things as a most holy father; hence such heretics as live contrary to his institutions shall not only, without any exception and without any mercy, be destroyed by fire, but also be cast into Hell with body and soul.

them lay, the truth of the Christian religion dubious, by their fallacious reasonings and their subtle but pernicious sophistry.

These new soldiers of the Church did every thing which could be hoped for from human powers, directed by the most profound zeal, prudence, perseverance, genius, and a combination of talent. They soon got possession of Courts, of Nations, of Confessions, of Pulpits, of the education of youth, of missions; nothing appeared to them impossible in extending the dominion of the Holy See, to places where it did not exist, or in consolidating it where it was still maintained. In pursuit of this object, they dreaded neither persecution nor calumnies. Represented as ambitious, fomentors of trouble, corrupt men, and even as rebels, by their adversaries; they opposed the stoical severity of their lives, their real services to the Roman See, and their studious austerity to these accusations.

The Jesuits hold a middle rank between the monks and the secular clerks, and with respect to the nature of their institute, approach nearer to the regular canons than to any other order. For though they resemble the monks in this, that they live separate from the multitude, and are bound by certain religious vows, yet they are exempt from stated hours of worship, and other numerous and burthensome services that lie heavy upon the monastic orders, that they may have more time to employ in the education of youth, in directing the consciences of the faithful, in edifying the Church by their pious and learned productions, and in transacting other matters that relate to the prosperity of the Papal hierarchy. Their whole order is divided into three classes. The first comprehends the professed members, who live in what are called the professed houses; the second contains the scholars, who instruct the youth in the colleges: and to the third belong the novices, who live in the houses of probation. The professed members solemnly bind themselves to go, without deliberation or delay, wherever the Pope shall think fit to send them; they are also a kind of mendicants, being without any fixed subsistence, and living upon the liberality of pious and well-disposed people. The other Jesuits, and more particularly the scholars,

are possessed of large revenues, and are obliged, in cases of urgent necessity, to contribute to the support of the professed members. These latter, who are few in number, considering the multitudes that belong to the other classes, are, generally speaking, men of prudence and learning, deeply skilled in the affairs of the world, and dexterous in transacting all kinds of business from long experience, added to their natural penetration and sagacity; in a word, they are the true and perfect Jesuits. The rest have indeed the title, but are rather the companions and assistants of the Jesuits, than real members of that mysterious order; and it is only in a very vague and general sense, that the denomination of Jesuits can be applied to them. But, what is still more remarkable, the secrets of the society, are not revealed even to all the professed members. It is only a small number of this class, whom old age has enriched with thorough experience, and long trial declared worthy of such an important trust, that are instructed in the mysteries of the order.

The Church and Court of Rome, since the remarkable period when so many kingdoms and provinces withdrew from their jurisdiction, have derived more influence and support from the labours of this single order, than from all their other emissaries and ministers, and all the various exertions of their power and opulence.

It was this famous company, which, spreading itself with an astonishing rapidity throughout the greatest part of the habitable world, confirmed the wavering nations in the faith of Rome, restrained the progress of the rising sects, gained over a prodigious number of pagans in the most barbarous and remote parts of the globe to the profession of Popery, and attacked the pretended heretics of all denominations: appearing almost alone in the field of controversy, sustaining with fortitude and resolution the whole burthen of this religious war, and surpassing by far the champions of antiquity, both in the subtilty of their reasonings, and the eloquence of their discourses. Nor is this all; for, by the affected softness and complying spirit that reigns in their conversation and manners, by their consummate skill and prudence in civil trans-

actions, by their acquaintance with the arts and sciences, and a variety of other qualities and accomplishments, they insinuated themselves into the peculiar favour and protection of statesmen, persons of the first distinction, and even of crowned heads. Nor did any thing contribute more to give them that ascendancy they have universally acquired, than the cunning and dexterity with which they relaxed and modified their system of morality, accommodating it artfully to the propensities of mankind, and depriving it, on certain occasions, of that severity, that rendered it burthensome to the sensual and voluptuous.

That this society might be more effectual, it was not like other monastic bodies, confined to particular places : but its members were at perfect liberty to go whithersoever the interest of the Church might require. Of the adaptation of this mighty expedient to the design of its construction, some idea may be formed from the fact, that the Jesuits, in addition to the vows usually taken by monks, made the following : viz. "*to go without deliberation or delay, wherever the Pope shall think fit to send them.*" Distance, sufferings, laws, government, dangers, or deaths, were, in no case, to produce hesitation or disobedience : and this peculiar subordination to the Papacy, was soon found to be to acknowledge the Pope to be superior to every other dignity, and to be in allegiance to him as to every one else, and against all princes of the earth. They made the Pope so completely their Imperial lord, and, as such, exalted him to such a pre-eminent sovereignty, as to consider him to be their God upon earth.

While other religious orders take the three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, Ignatius added to his institution, as a fourth, the special oath of obeying the Pope implicitly in all things, that they might be a militant society, and his religious soldiery, ever moving instantaneously at his command, to establish his faith and power, wherever he should enjoin them to go and operate. Within eighty-six years after their foundation, they had rooted themselves in every quarter of the globe, which, as if its Imperial masters, they divide into Jesuit provinces : and that society which received the Bull of

its foundation, dated 5 Kial. October 1540, from Paul III. on condition that it should not exceed sixty members, could then enumerate nearly sixteen thousand as the amount of its admitted members; affiliated to each other and to their chiefs, with unalterable fidelity and secrecy; sworn to obey him with unrepenting and never criticising devotion; and moving to every place and action, with an unhesitating speed.

The new order was soon distinguished by its zeal to confirm the wavering and declining influence of the See of Rome; and speedily surpassed and superseded its predecessors and competitors. The manners of the Jesuits were gentle and insinuating; their doctrine, such as best suited the pride and selfishness of human nature: and their system of morals, the most flexible and accommodating imaginable. Seeking first and principally, to gain access to the courts and cabinets of princes, from which emanate the decrees which govern mankind, they knew how to render themselves far more agreeable than the sterner casuists, who previously had the direction of royal consciences: and the Dominicans were dismissed, to make way for the Jesuits. These crafty partisans, were likewise very sedulous in the instructing of the young; and contrived to become, both acceptable and formidable to the common people. It is unquestionable, that the Court of Rome has derived greater accessions of profit and power, from the agency of this single order, than from all its other ministers combined. The others indeed, readily, though reluctantly, made way for them; and they appeared foremost, and almost unrivalled, as the arrogant champions of the Popish hierarchy, and the implacable persecutors of heretics.

The success of the Jesuits at home, encouraged them to extend their efforts to the other hemisphere, in order, by foreign acquisitions, to supply the loss of European territory. For this purpose, was formed what they choose to call "The Society for Propagating the Faith;" and missions were appointed to the remotest parts of the earth. Well had this been a Christian society, and had these been Christian missions! But mark the event. Their missionaries went forth, they compassed sea and land, they explored the most secluded

regions, they encountered every form of hardship and of danger : but they did, and endured all this, not to impart the Gospel of Christ, but to extend the dominion of Rome. The object of these missions, was as purely secular and political, as the enterprise of Cortes or Pizarro, and the character of their proceedings essentially the same. Their converts were required to be, not Christians, but Papists. Wherever these missionaries found Churches already professing Christianity, they required an immediate and implicit submission to the See of Rome, of which few of those Churches had ever heard; and a refusal, or even hesitation, was censured, and if possible, punished, as an act of rebellion against legitimate authority. In Japan, in China, and in all countries where they were alone and unprotected, they employed every art of insinuation and deceit, to cajole the inhabitants into an adoption of the ceremonies of the Church of Rome. Some of the lies and tricks by which they imposed on the understanding and imagination of the heathen, would be altogether incredible, had they not in their own writings, recorded them as proceedings for which they expected applause and imitation. In other parts, South America for example, where they were in pride and power, and could command a military force, they propagated Christianity, just as the Turks did Mahometanism, by fire and sword. The poor ignorant Indians, inveigled by the most specious pretences into a profession of Popery, were afterwards plundered and butchered, as heretics to a faith of which they scarcely knew the name. If a Prince, with his people, became voluntarily the subject of Rome, well ; if not, he was invaded, stripped of his territory, and put to a cruel death. Even submission did not always avert the barbarities of these monsters ; offence was taken at some unguarded expression or action, and the deluded wretches who were incapable of understanding the nature of their alleged transgression, were seized and tortured till life was extinct. The Inquisition was first planted in the European soil, its pestilential odour first tainted the European air ; but its malignant influence reached and pervaded those distant and ill-fated lands : and the limits of the territory usurped by Papal Rome,

like the poisonous effluvia of the fabled Upas tree, may be measured and ascertained by the ashes of its victims.

It appears desirable here to state, what are the principal points of difference between the Jesuits and the other doctors of the Roman Church, by which we shall better discover what is that Unity of which this Church boasts.

The **FIRST** subject of debate concerns the limits and extent of the power and jurisdiction of the Roman Pontiff. The Jesuits, with their numerous tribe of followers and dependents, all maintain, that the Pope is infallible;—that he is the only visible source of that universal and unlimited power, which Christ has granted to the Church;—that all Bishops and subordinate rulers, derive from him alone the authority and jurisdiction with which they are invested; that he is not bound by any laws of the Church, nor by any decrees of the Councils that composed it; and that he alone is the supreme lawgiver of that sacred community, a lawgiver whose edicts and commands, it is in the highest degree criminal to oppose or disobey. Such are the strange sentiments of the Jesuits; but they are very far from being universally adopted. For other doctors of the Church of Rome hold, on the contrary, that the Pope is liable to error; that his authority is inferior to that of a General Council; that he is bound to obey the commands of the Church, and its laws, as they are enacted in the councils that represent it; that these councils have a right to depose him from the Papal chair, when he abuses, in a flagrant manner, the dignity and prerogatives with which he is intrusted; and that, in consequence of these principles, the Bishops and other inferior rulers and doctors derive the authority that is annexed to their respective dignities, not from the Roman Pontiff, but from Christ himself. The extent and prerogatives of the Church form the **SECOND** subject of debate. The Jesuits and their adherents stretch out its borders far and wide. They comprehend within its large circuit, not only many who live separate from the communion of Rome, but even extend the inheritance of eternal salvation to nations that have not the least knowledge of the Christian religion, or of its Divine Author, and consider as true members of the Church



open transgressors which profess its doctrines. But the adversaries of the Jesuits reduce within narrower limits the Kingdom of Christ, not only excluding from all hope of salvation those who are not within the pale of the Church of Rome, but also those who, though they live within its external communion, yet dishonour their profession by a vicious and profligate course of life. The Jesuits, moreover, not to mention other differences of less moment, assert, that the Church can never pronounce an erroneous or unjust decision either relating to matters of fact, or points of doctrine; while the adverse party declare, that, in judging of matters of fact, it is not secured against all possibility of erring. The **THIRD** class of controversies that divide the Church of Rome, comprehends the debates relating to the nature, efficacy, and necessity of divine grace, together with those that concern original sin, the natural power of man to obey the laws of God, and the nature and foundation of those eternal decrees that have for their objects the salvation of men. The Dominicans, Augustins, and Jansentis, with several other doctors of the Church, adopt the following propositions: that the impulse of Divine Grace cannot be opposed or resisted; that there are no remains of purity or goodness in human nature since its fall; that the eternal decrees of God, relating to the salvation of men, are neither founded upon, nor attended with, any condition whatsoever; that God wills the salvation of all mankind; and several other tenets that are connected with these. The Jesuits maintain, on the contrary, that the natural dominion of sin in the human mind, and the hidden corruption it has produced in our internal frame, are less universal and dreadful, than they are represented by the divines now mentioned; that human nature is far from being deprived of all power of doing good; that succours of grace are administered to all mankind in measure sufficient, to lead them to eternal life and salvation; that the operations of grace offer no violence to the faculties and powers of nature, and therefore may be resisted; and that God from all eternity has appointed everlasting rewards and punishments as the portion of men in a future world, not by an absolute, arbitrary, and unconditional decree, but in consequence

of that divine and unlimited prescience, by which he foresaw the actions, merits, and characters of every individual. The **FOURTH** head in this division of the controversies that destroy the pretended unity of the Church of Rome, contains various subjects of debate relative to doctrines of morality and rules of practice, which it would be both tedious and foreign from our purpose to enumerate in a circumstantial manner; though we may glance at the principles of this endless controversy. The Jesuits and their followers have inculcated a very strange doctrine with respect to the motives that determine the moral conduct and actions of men. They represent it as a matter of perfect indifference from what motives men obey the laws of God, provided these laws are really obeyed; and maintain, that the service of those who obey from the fear of punishment, is as agreeable to the Deity, as those actions which proceed from the principle of love to him and to his laws. This decision excites the horror of the greatest part of the divines of the Roman Church, who affirm, that no acts of obedience, that do not proceed from the love of God, can be acceptable to that pure and holy Being. Nor is the doctrine of the Jesuits only chargeable with the corrupt tenets already mentioned. They maintain farther, that a man never sins, properly speaking, but when he transgresseth a divine law, which is fully known to him, which is present to his mind while he acts, and of which he understands the true meaning and intention. And they conclude from hence, that, in strict justice, the conduct of that transgressor cannot be looked upon as criminal, who is either ignorant of the law, or is in doubt about its true signification, or loses sight of it, through forgetfulness, at the time that he violates it. From these propositions they deduce the famous doctrine of probability and philosophical sin, that have cast an eternal reproach upon the schools of Jesuitism. Their adversaries behold these pernicious tenets with the utmost abhorrence, and assert, that neither ignorance nor forgetfulness of the law, nor the doubts that may be entertained with respect to its signification, will be admitted as sufficient to justify transgressors before the tribunal of God. This contest, about the main and fundamental points of morality, has given rise to a great va-

riety of debates concerning the duties we owe to God, our neighbour, and ourselves; and produced two sects of moral doctors, whose animosities and divisions have miserably rent the Church of Rome in all parts of the world, and involved it in the greatest perplexities. The administration of the sacraments, especially those of penance and the eucharist, forms the FIFTH subject of controversy in the Church of Rome. The Jesuits and many other doctors are of opinion, that the salutary effects of the sacraments are produced by their intrinsic virtue and immediate operation upon the mind at the time they are administered, and that consequently it requires but little preparation to receive them to edification and comfort, nor do they think that God requires a mind adorned with inward purity, and a heart animated with divine love, in order to the obtaining of the ends and purposes of these religious institutions. And hence it is, that, according to their doctrine, the priests are empowered to give immediate absolution to all such as confess their transgressions and crimes, and afterwards to admit them to the use of sacraments.

But such sentiments are rejected with indignation by all those of the Romish communion who have the progress of vital and practical religion truly at heart. These look upon it as the duty of the Clergy to use the greatest diligence and assiduity in examining the characters, tempers, and actions of those who demand absolution and the use of the sacraments, before they grant their requests; since, in their sense of things the real benefit of these institutions can extend to those only, whose hearts are carefully purged from the corruptions of iniquity, and filled with that divine love, that casteth out fear. Hence arose, that famous dispute in the Church of Rome, concerning a frequent approach to the holy communion, which was carried on with such warmth in the last century, between the Jesuits and the Jansenists, with Arnold at the head of the latter, and has been renewed in later times, by the Jesuit Pichon, who thereby incurred the indignation of the greatest part of the French Bishops. The frequent celebration of the Lord's Supper, is one of the main duties which the Jesuits recommend with peculiar earnestness to those who are under

their spiritual direction, representing it as the most certain and infallible method of appeasing the Deity, and obtaining from him the entire remission of their sins and transgressions. This manner of proceeding, the Jansenists censure with their usual severity, and it is also condemned by many other learned and pious divines of the Romish communion, who reject that intrinsic virtue and efficient operation, that is attributed to the sacraments, and wisely maintain that the receiving the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, can be profitable to those only, whose minds are prepared by faith, repentance, and the love of God, for that solemn service.

The SIXTH and last controversy, turns upon the proper method of instructing Christians in the truths and precepts of religion. One part of the Romish doctors, who have the progress of religion truly at heart, look upon it as expedient, and even necessary, to sow the seeds of divine truth in the mind, in the tender and flexible period of infancy, when it is most susceptible of good impressions, and to give it by degrees, according to the measure of its capacity, a full and accurate knowledge of the doctrines and duties of religion. Others, who have a greater zeal for the interest of the Church, than the improvement of its members, recommend a devout ignorance to such as submit to their direction, and think a Christian sufficiently instructed, when he has learned to yield a blind and unlimited obedience to the orders of the Church. The former are of opinion, that nothing can be so profitable and instructive to Christians, as the study of the Holy Scriptures, and consequently judge it highly expedient, that they should be translated into the vulgar tongue of each country. The latter exclude the people from the satisfaction of consulting the sacred oracles of truth, and look upon all vernacular translations of the Bible, as dangerous, and even of a pernicious tendency. They accordingly maintain, that it ought only to be published in a learned language, to prevent its instructions from becoming familiar to the multitude. The former compose pious and instructive books to nourish a spirit of devotion in the minds of Christians, to enlighten, and dispel their errors; they illustrate and explain the public prayers, and the solemn

acts of religion in the language of the people, and exhort those who attend to their instructions, to peruse constantly these pious productions, in order to improve their knowledge, purify their affections, and to learn the method of worshipping the Deity, in a rational and acceptable manner. All this, however, is highly displeasing to the latter class of divines, who are always apprehensive, that the blind obedience and implicit submission of the people, will diminish in proportion as their views are enlarged, and their knowledge increased.

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## CHAPTER XX.

### COUNCIL OF TRENT.

WHEN Paul, whose passion for aggrandizing his family increased as he advanced in years, and as he saw the dignity and power which they derived immediately from him becoming more precarious, found that he could not bring Charles to approve of his ambitious schemes, he ventured to grant his son Peter Lewis the investiture of Parma and Placentia, though at the risk of incurring the displeasure of the Emperor. At a time when a great part of Europe inveighed openly against the corrupt manners and exorbitant power of Ecclesiastics, and when a Council was summoned to reform the disorders in the Church, this indecent grant of such a principality to a son, of whose illegitimate birth the Pope ought to have been ashamed, and whose licentious morals all good men detested, gave general offence. Some Cardinals, in the Imperial interest, remonstrated against such an unbecoming alienation of the patrimony of the Church. The Spanish Ambassador would not be present at the solemnity of his infeoffment, and upon

pretext that these cities were part of the Milanese state, the Emperor peremptorily refused to confirm the Deed of Investiture: but both the Emperor and the Pope being intent upon one common object in Germany, they sacrificed their particular passions to that public cause, and suppressed the emotions of jealousy or resentment which were rising on this occasion, that they might jointly pursue what each deemed to be of greater importance.

In the year 1542, the Pope assigned a Council to be held at Trent, in the month of November; he sent a Bull to the Emperor in Spain, and afterwards to the Kings, exhorting them to send their Ambassadors thither; he himself deputed thither three Cardinals in quality of Legates; and sent thither some Bishops also. But this convocation had not then any effect, by reason of the war that was carried on about the same time between King Francis I. and the Emperor. And this latter, seeing himself to have two wars upon his hands, that with France and the other with the Turks, made a new decree at Spires, by which he gave peace to the Protestants; but more than that, he ordained that they should make choice of some learned and well meaning persons, to draw up a formulary of the Reformation; that the Princes should do the same; and that all those pieces being referred to the next Diet, they should there resolve, with a common consent, that which they should judge fit to be kept about the matter of religion, till the meeting of a Council. This decree was made in the year 1544. But the Pope was so nettled at it, that he wrote to the Emperor in a very threatening style, complaining above all things of this, that he had not referred that which concerned religion to the Church of Rome, and that he had favoured those who were rebels to the Apostolic See.

Some time after Francis and the Emperor made a peace; and one of the articles of their agreement was, that they should defend the ancient religion, that they should employ their endeavours for the union of the Church, and the Reformation of the Court of Rome, that they should jointly demand of the Pope the calling of a Council, and that they should labour to subdue the Protestants. This obliged the Pope to prevent

them. He, therefore, again assigned the Council to be held at Trent, the 15th day of March, 1545, and dispatched away his Legates thither; but at the same time he resolved to use all his endeavours to oblige the Emperor to turn his arms against the Protestants, to oppose them at the same time with the spiritual and temporal sword; or, rather, that the war might serve him for a pretence to elude the desired Council. For that purpose he made use of the ministry of his Nuncio, and afterwards of that of Cardinal Farnese, whom he sent to the Emperor as his Legate, whose chief pretence was, the refusals which the Protestants had proposed anew against his Council. He made, therefore, very powerful solicitations to the Emperor by his Legate, with offers to aid him with men and money, and even to cause him to be assisted by the Princes of Italy; and the Emperor, who, on his side, was very glad to take this occasion to subdue Germany to himself, readily accepted of this proposition, so that a war was concluded between them; but the determination was kept very secret till the time of execution. Notwithstanding, the better to cover this design, the Emperor appointed a conference of learned men to be held at Ratisbon, upon the subject of religion, according to his last decree; but he did not fail to cite the Archbishop of Cologne, who had embraced the Reformation, to appear before him, whom he afterwards excommunicated, and deprived of his Archbishoprick. And as for the conference at Ratisbon, which gave some jealousy to the Bishops who were already assembled at Trent, it was quickly after broken by the unjust conditions that some Monks, who were there as the commissioners of the Emperor, would impose on the Protestant divines. The Council was opened the 13th of December of the same year, 1545, with the accustomed solemnities, at Trent. The eyes of the Catholic States were now turned with much expectation towards an assembly, which all had considered as capable of applying an effectual remedy for the disorders of the Church when they first broke out; though many were afraid that it was now too late to hope for great benefit from it, when the malady, by being suffered to increase during twenty-eight years, had become inveterate,

and was grown to such extreme violence. The Pope, by his last Bull of Convocation, had appointed the first meeting to be held in March; but his views and those of the Emperor were so different, that almost the whole year was spent in negotiations. Charles, who foresaw that the rigorous decrees of the Council against the Protestants would soon drive them, in self-defence, as well as from resentment, to some desperate extreme, laboured to put off its meeting until his warlike preparations were so far advanced that he might be in a condition to second its decisions by the force of his arms. The Pope, who had early sent to Trent the Legates who were to preside in his name, knowing to what contempt it would expose his authority, and what suspicions it would beget of his intentions if the Fathers of the Council should remain in a state of inactivity, when the Church was in such danger as to require their immediate and vigorous interposition, insisted either upon translating the Council to some city in Italy, or upon suspending *altogether* its proceedings at that juncture, or upon authorizing it to begin its deliberations immediately. The Emperor rejected the two former expedients, as equally offensive to the Germans of every denomination, but, finding it impossible to elude the latter, he proposed that the Council should begin with reforming the disorders of the Church, before it proceeded to examine or define articles of faith. This was the very thing which the Court of Rome dreaded most, and which had prompted it to employ so many artifices in order to prevent the meeting of such a dangerous judicatory. Paul, though more compliant than some of his predecessors with regard to calling a Council, was no less jealous than they had been of its jurisdiction, and saw what matter of triumph such a method of proceeding would afford to the heretics; he apprehended consequences not only humbling but fatal to the Papal See, if the Council came to consider an inquest into abuses as their only business; or, if inferior Prelates were allowed to gratify their own envy and peevishness, by prescribing rules to those who were exalted above them in dignity and power. Without listening, therefore, to this insidious



proposal of the Emperor, he instructed his Legates to open the Council.

The first session was spent in matters of form. In a subsequent one, it was agreed that the framing a Confession of Faith, wherein should be contained all the articles which the Church required its members to believe, ought to be the first and principal business of the Council; but that, at the same time, due attention should be given to what was necessary towards the reformation of manners and discipline. From this first symptom of the spirit with which the Council was animated, from the high tone of authority which the Legates who presided in it assumed, and from the implicit deference with which most of the members followed their directions, the Protestants conjectured, with ease, what decisions they might expect. It astonished them, however, to see forty Prelates, for no greater number were yet assembled, assume authority as the representatives of the Universal Church, and proceed to determine the most important points of doctrine in its name. Sensible of this indecency, as well as of the ridicule with which it might be attended, the Council advanced slowly in its deliberations, and all its proceedings were for some time languishing and feeble. As soon as the Confederates of Smalkalde received information of the opening of the Council, they published a long manifesto, containing a renewal of their protest against its meeting, together with the reasons which induced them to decline its jurisdiction. The Pope and Emperor, on their part, were so little solicitous to quicken or add vigour to its operations, as plainly discovered that some object of greater importance occupied and interested them.

The Protestants were not inattentive or unconcerned spectators of the motions of the sovereign Pontiff and of Charles, and the intelligence which they daily received of the machinations carrying on against them, gave countenance to their suspicions. The King of England, and the merchants of Augsburg, acting on advice received from Italy, warned them that a dangerous confederacy against the Protestant cause was forming between the Pope and the Emperor. The orders issued

by Charles for raising troops in the Low Countries still further corroborating all that their own jealousy or observation led them to apprehend, the deputies of the Smalkaldic Confederates met at Franckfort, and communications were forthwith made to the Emperor, who, with his usual dissimulation, endeavoured to amuse and deceive the Protestants. A Diet, held at Ratisbon, only tended still further to discover the meanness, deceit, and tyranny, which characterized the Emperor's conduct, which was, in the highest degree, offensive to every sentiment of honour and justice.\*

As the Pope advanced in years, he grew more strongly attached to his family, and more jealous of his authority; but in the midst of the schemes for the aggrandizement of the latter, he died, A. D. 1549, in the eighty-second year of his age, and after he had held the Roman See more than fifteen years.

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## CHAPTER XXI.

### JULIUS III. COUNCIL OF TRENT.

As Paul's death had been long expected, there was an extraordinary concourse of Cardinals at Rome; and the various competitors having had time to form their parties, and to concert their measures, their ambition and intrigues protracted the conclave to a great length. The Imperial and French factions strove, with emulation, to promote one of their own number, and had, by turns, the prospect of success. But as

\* For what events more immediately refer to the Reformation, the Reader is referred back to the former part of the Volume, where they will be found in a continuous narrative—they are here omitted to avoid repetition.

Paul, during a long Pontificate, had raised many to the purple, and those chiefly persons of eminent abilities, as well as zealously devoted to his family, Cardinal Farnese had the command of a powerful and united squadron, by whose address and firmness he exalted to the Papal Throne the Cardinal di Monte, whom Paul had employed as his principal Legate in the Council of Trent, and trusted with his most secret intentions,\* and who assumed the name of Julius III. In order to express his gratitude towards his benefactor, the first act of his administration was to put Octavio Farnese in possession of Parma. When the injury which he did to the Holy See, by alienating a territory of such value, was mentioned by some of the Cardinals, he briskly replied, "that he would rather be a poor Pope, with the reputation of a gentleman, than a rich one with the infamy of having forgotten the obligations conferred upon him, and the promises he had made." But all the lustre of this candour or generosity, he quickly effaced by an action most shockingly indecent. According to an ancient and established practice, every Pope, upon his election, considers it as his privilege to bestow on whom he pleases the Cardinal's hat, which falls to be disposed of by his own elevation to the triple crown. Julius, to the astonishment of the sacred College, conferred this mark of distinction, together with ample ecclesiastical revenues, and the right of bearing his arms, upon one Innocent, a youth of sixteen, born of obscure parents, and known by the name of the *ape*, from his having been trusted with the care of an animal of that species in the Cardinal di Monte's family.† Such a prostitution of

\* Cardinal Pole was elected Pope at one time during this conclave, but as it was in the night, he desired the Cardinals to defer the declaration of their choice till next morning. When day came they had changed their minds.

That year was the year of Jubilee, and many thousand pilgrims had assembled at Rome, expecting to receive pardon and remission of their sins from the Pope. They waited till the election of Julius, which did not take place till February 23d, 1550, when he opened the gate in St. Peter's Church, with the ceremonies usual in the Jubilee year, and bestowed the expected pardon upon the assembled multitude. An indulgence of 100 years was granted to all present at his election.

† When Julius was reproached by the Cardinals for introducing so unworthy a member into the Sacred College; a person who had neither learning, nor

the highest dignity in the Church would have given offence even in those dark periods, when the credulous superstition of the people emboldened Ecclesiastics to venture on the most flagrant violations of decorum. But, in an enlightened age, when, by the progress of knowledge and philosophy, the obligations of duty and decency were better understood, when a blind veneration for the Pontifical character was every where abated, and one half of Christendom in open rebellion against the Papal See, this action was viewed with horror. Rome was immediately filled with libels and pasquinades, which imputed the Pope's extravagant regard for such an unworthy object to the most criminal passions. The Protestants exclaimed against the absurdity of supposing that the infallible spirit of divine truth could dwell in a breast so impure, and called more loudly than ever, and with greater appearance of justice, for the immediate and thorough reformation of a Church, the head of which was a disgrace to the Christian name. The rest of the Pope's conduct was of a piece with this first specimen of his dispositions. Having now reached the summit of Ecclesiastical ambition, he seemed eager to indemnify himself by an unrestrained indulgence of his desires, for the self-denial or dissimulation which he had thought it prudent to practice, while in a subordinate station. He became careless to so great a degree of all serious business, that he could seldom be brought to attend to it, but in cases of extreme necessity; and giving himself up to amusements and dissipation of every kind, he imitated the luxurious elegance of Leo rather than the severe virtue of Adrian, the latter of which it was necessary to display in contending with men who

virtue, nor merit, of any kind, he impudently replied by asking them "what merit or virtue they had found in him, that could induce them to place him (Julius) in the Papal chair.

Having one day ordered a cold peacock for his supper, and not perceiving it on the table, he expressed his anger in most horrid blasphemy. One of his Cardinals remonstrating with his Holiness on the violence of his passion, his reply was, "if God could be so very angry about an apple, as to turn our first Father out of Paradise, why should it not be lawful for me, who am His Vicar, to be in a passion for a peacock, since a peacock is much more than an apple?"

derived great credit from the rigid and austere manners of their teachers.

For his soul, Julius felt, indeed, so little, and for his body so much concern, that his biographer, the Catholic Monk Panvinio, is forced to declare, "that he was more given to enjoy himself than to govern his states; and gave his whole care and attention to a villa which he built for his own pleasure, a short way from the *Porta del Popolo*, and which seemed to have turned his head. In that villa, being now near seventy, he spent the whole time of his Pontificate, to the great detriment and great danger of Rome, and of Christendom, in banqueting and pleasure, instead of attending to the cares of government and other most important business." He was, besides, one of those successors of St. Peter who have held their own office very cheap. "He was, also, says Panvinio, found guilty on another point; for, not knowing or understanding the great power and supreme dignity which he possessed, he used with light and vain words often to degrade his own majesty, not without raising shame in those who heard him." His extraordinary affection for Innocentio, a youth of Placentia, whose parents were unknown, was a subject of sport and satire to the Romans, especially when the first act of his Pontificate was to heap preferment on that favourite, induce his own brother to adopt him, and, thus qualified, to make him a Cardinal. The whole transaction is related by Sarpi, and alluded to by Panvinio. At four times he created about twenty Cardinals, among whom there were many persons rather dignified and learned; some others, from a frequent desire of pleasing himself, were such as all the world holds unworthy of that great dignity. By what means this *holy man* obtained the Popedom, the same writer, strong in the Roman faith that no personal depravity can invalidate the supernatural privileges of the Bishop of Rome, hesitates not in part to expose, by mentioning the bribe which chiefly contributed to change Giovanni Maria de Monte, into Pope Julius III. It was the cession of the city of Parma to Octavio Farnese, the grandson of the late Pope, whose brother,

the Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, engaged, on that condition, to manage the election. The sanguinary war, and more sanguinary treatment of the unhappy people of Parma, which arose from this infamous transaction, are well known to the readers of Italian history. Such was the *Head of the Church at Trent*. He was well known there as the chief instrument of Paul III., where he acted as his Legate, and it was he who managed the scandalous removal of the Pope's own Bishops from Trent to Bologna, whom the Court of Rome had the impudence still to call the *General Council*.

With a view to the termination of all opposition between him and the Emperor, Julius transferred the Council back to Trent. But in the Bull which he published he declared that it belonged to him to rule and guide the Council; that he remitted it to be followed and continued, in the same state in which it was when it was broken off; and that he would send his Legates thither to preside in his place, in case he could not come thither himself in person. These causes nettled the Protestants, so that seeing themselves pressed by the Emperor to submit themselves to the Council, they freely declared to him that they could not do it, otherwise than upon these conditions, to wit, "That they should begin to treat of matters all anew, without having regard to that which had already been done; that their divines should be received, and have a deliberate voice; that the Pope should not pretend to preside, but that he should submit himself to it; and in fine, that he should absolve the Bishops from the oath by which they were tied to him, and that without that they could not hold it to be a free Council." Notwithstanding this declaration, the Emperor made his decree, by which he ordained that they should submit themselves to the Council, promising on his part that he would give safe-conduct to all the world to come thither, and to propose there all that they should judge necessary for the good of the Church, and the salvation of souls; and that he would give orders that all things should be treated and determined in a holy and Christian manner, according to the Holy Scripture, and the doctrine of the fathers; and that the

state of the Church should be reformed there, and false doctrines and errors should be taken away.

Thus the Council of Trent was continued, to which place the Pope sent his Legate and two Nuncios to preside in his name, with orders to begin the session on the 1st day of May, 1551, which was yet nevertheless prorogued to the 1st of September following. The Elector of Saxony and the Duke of Wirtemberg, both Protestants, with some Imperial cities, resolved to send their deputies thither, and made them demand of the Emperor's Ambassador a letter of safe-conduct, in the same form that the Council of Basil had given it to the Bohemians, with an intermission till their divines should be arrived. This demand was not without some difficulty; but the question having been agitated at Rome, they thought good to agree that they should have a safe-conduct in general terms, without delaying upon that account the decision of the chief matters; and before the expediting of this safe-conduct, they had determined the principal points touching the Eucharist, viz. transubstantiation, the real presence, the adoration of the host, the concomitance, the custom of the Fete Dieu, the reservation of the Sacrament, and the necessity of auricular confession before the communion. They agreed only with the Ambassador of the Emperor, that they should delay the decision of these four questions; Whether it was necessary to salvation, that all should receive the Sacrament in both kinds? Whether he that received in one, took less than he that received in both? Whether the Church was in an error, when she ordained that the Priests only should receive in both? Whether the eucharist ought always to be given to little children? which was already a mere fallacy, as if the Protestants had nothing to propose but only about those four questions.

When the Protestant deputies were arrived, they openly complained of the form of safe-conduct, and they demanded one in form of that of Basil to the Bohemians; but they were refused. They demanded that they might be heard in full Council, but they would not; and they obtained with great difficulty to be heard in a congregation in the house of the Legate. In

the congregation they demanded, on behalf of their masters, 1st, That the article of the superiority of the Council above the Pope, decided in the Councils of Constance and Basil, might be laid down for a foundation. 2nd, That the Pope, since he was a party in this affair, should not preside in the Council, but that he should submit to it both himself and his See, to be judged there. 3rd, That he should for this effect absolve the Bishops of the oaths that he had given them. 4th, That all matters which had been already decided, should be judged of again, after their divines had been heard, since they could not till then have come to the Council, not having had safe-conduct. 5th, That they should defer all judgment till they came. 6th, That they should judge according to the word of God, and the common belief of all Christian nations. But the Prelates would not hear these propositions, and the Legate, who consulted the Pope upon all matters, and more especially upon these, had already thus vehemently explained himself, "that they had much rather lose their lives, than relax any thing of the authority of the Holy See." Some days after, the divines of Wirtemberg and those of Strasburg arrived at Trent, and presented their confession, demanding that it should be examined, and offering themselves to explain and defend it; but this was to no purpose; for the Pope had expressly forbidden his Legate to permit that they should enter upon any public conference, either viva voce or by writing, in the matters of religion. Thus things were carried on in this Council.

But while affairs were managed after this manner, the Pope, who for some time before had been discontented with the Emperor, had made his treaty with King Henry II.; and the King, on his side, had also very secretly treated with Maurice, the Elector of Saxony, for the liberty of Germany, so that matters were all on a sudden ready for a war; and the news being come to Trent, the Pope presently separated the assembly, giving orders to his Nuncio to give notice of it every where, and to suspend the Council till another time. This war freed Germany from its slavery under Charles; he was forced to set all the Princes at liberty whom he kept prisoner; and, in fine, to make the



peace which was concluded at Passau, the last day of July, 1552. By this peace it was concluded, that the Emperor should call, within six months, the General Assembly of the Empire, there to provide means for the accommodating of the differences of religion, and that, notwithstanding, no person should be disquieted upon that occasion; and thus the *Interim* of the Emperor was abolished.

Julius, by abandoning himself to pleasures and amusements, no less unbecoming his age than his character, having contracted such habits of dissipation that any serious occupation, especially if attended with difficulty, became an intolerable burden to him, had long resisted the solicitations of his nephew to hold a Consistory, because he expected there a violent opposition to his schemes in favour of that young man. But when all the pretexts which he could invent for eluding this request were exhausted, and, at the same time, his indolent aversion to business continued to grow upon him, he feigned indisposition rather than yield to his nephew's importunity; and that he might give the deceit a greater colour of probability, he not only confined himself to his apartment, but changed his usual diet and manner of life. By persisting too long in acting this ridiculous part, he contracted a real disease of which he died in a few days, leaving his infamous minion the Cardinal de Monte to bear his name, and to disgrace the dignity which he had conferred upon him. His death, in 1555, was lamented by none, although he had then held the Papal See about five years.

Marcellus Cervino, Cardinal of Santo Croce, being elected Pope in room of Julius, he, in imitation of Adrian, did not change his name on being exalted to the Papal Chair. As he equalled that Pontiff in purity of intention, while he excelled him much in the arts of government, and still more in knowledge of the state and genius of the Papal Court, as he had capacity to discern what reformation it needed, as well as what it could bear; such regulations were expected from his virtue and wisdom, as would have removed many of its grossest and most flagrant corruptions, and have contributed towards reconciling to the Church such as, from indignation at these enor-

mities, had abandoned its communion. Too good for his age and station, corrupted and abandoned as both had now become, he resolved, unlike other Pontiffs, not to pervert his sacred office to the aggrandizement of his family; and therefore immediately wrote to his brother that neither he nor any of his family should come to Rome. But this excellent Pontiff was only shewn to the Church and then snatched away. The confinement in the Conclave had impaired his health, and the fatigue of tedious ceremonies upon his accession, together with too intense and conscientious application of mind to the schemes of improvement which he meditated, exhausted so entirely the vigour of his feeble constitution, that he sickened on the twelfth, and died on the twentieth day, after his election, April 30th, 1555.

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## CHAPTER XXI.

### THE INQUISITION.

CARDINAL Caraffa, who took the name of Paul IV., was the next occupant of the Papal Chair. The Roman Courtiers, from the known austerity of his character, anticipated a severe and violent Pontificate. Paul, however, commenced his career by ordering his coronation to be conducted with greater pomp and magnificence than usual; and when he was asked in what manner he chose to live, he haughtily replied, "as becomes a great Prince." He used great pomp in his first consistory, when he gave audience to the Ambassadors of Mary, Queen of England, who came to tender her obedience to the Papal See, on which occasion he gave the title of a Kingdom to Ireland.

He maintained with undiminished rigour the pretensions of

the Church of Rome. When, in 1558, Sir Edward Keme notified the accession of Elizabeth to the English throne, he answered that "England was held in fee of the Apostolic See; that the Queen, being illegitimate, could not succeed; that she was presumptuous in assuming the crown without his consent; but that if she renounced her pretensions, and submitted her case entirely to him, he would do every thing that could be done consistently by the Apostolic See." He never talked, says Father Paul, "with Ambassadors, without thundering in their ears, that he was superior to all Princes, that he could admit none of them on a footing of familiarity with himself, that it was in his power to change kingdoms, and that he was the successor of those who deposed Kings and Emperors."

In furtherance of these views, he made an ordinance which he caused all the Cardinals to sign, by which he renewed all the censures and punishments denounced by his predecessors against the heretics, and declared that all the Prelates, Princes, Kings and Emperors, fallen into heresy, ought to be held fallen from and deprived of all their benefices, estates, kingdoms, or empires, without any other declaration; that they could not be re-established by any authority, not even by that of the Apostolic See; and that their goods should be given to the first possessor. He quarrelled at the same time with Ferdinand, maintaining that the resignation of Charles in his favour, could not be done but by his hands; and that in that case, it belonged to him to make whom he should please Emperor. Notwithstanding, two things fell out, that gave him a great deal of grief; the one, that Mary Queen of England being dead, Elizabeth succeeded her; and that the Emperor Ferdinand, having proposed to the Protestants in the Diet of Augsburg, which was held in the month of February, 1559, to seek and put an end to the differences of religion, by the way of a Council, the Protestants had declared to him, as they had often done, that they could have no hopes of any accommodation by the way of a Council of the Pope's. That they would submit themselves to a free, general, and Christian Council, not called by the Pope, but by the Emperor and Christian Kings, where the Pope should hold his place, not

as president and master, but as a party, and submit himself to the judgment of the Council. That for this end, it was necessary that the Pope should release them of the oath by which he held all the Prelates bound to his See, to the end that the Prelates and Divines there might give their opinion freely, and that all should be judged by the word of God alone, and not by the Roman constitutions, and their pretended traditions. That it was just, that their Divines should be heard, and that they might declare their opinion in the decision of those differences, and by consequence, all the acts and all the decrees made at Trent remaining as not made, that they should treat the things anew. That with these conditions they consented with all their hearts, and submitted themselves to a Council, but not otherwise. So that the Emperor, seeing well that the Pope and his Court would never agree to those conditions, nor consent to any Council, at least, unless they should be masters of it, further confirmed by the treaty of Passau, and settled the peace of Germany, about the matter of religion, leaving to every one the liberty of his own conscience. This mortally wounded the Pope, but elsewhere he comforted himself with hearing that his solicitations with the other Princes, to continue the rooting out of the heretics by fire and sword, and every where all the rigours of punishment had a very great effect in France, in Spain, and in the Low Countries.

Paul, from the beginning of his Papacy, turned all his thoughts to avoid the Council, and to make the rigours of the Inquisition to rule in all places, saying, "That this was the only means to destroy heresy, and the only fort of the Apostolic See."

The erection of that extraordinary Court, "The Inquisition," is indeed, uniformly ascribed to Dominic, a man of the most blood-thirsty disposition, and whose deeds of cruelty may not unjustly be compared with those of the infamous Nero. Dominic was born at the village of Cabaroga in Spain, in the year 1170. Previous to his birth, his mother Joanna is said to have dreamed that she was with child of a pup, carrying in its mouth a lighted torch; that after its birth, it

put the world in an uproar, by its fierce barkings ; and, at length, set it on fire by the torch which it carried in its mouth. His followers have interpreted this dream of his doctrine, by which he enlightened the world ; while others with more reason, think that the torch was an emblem of that fire and faggot, by which an infinite multitude of persons were burnt to ashes. Dominic was educated for the priesthood, and grew up the most fiery, and the most bloody of mortals. Before his time, every Bishop was a sort of Inquisitor in his own Diocese, but Dominic contrived to incorporate a body of men, independent of every human being except the Pope, for the express purpose of ensnaring and destroying Christians.

Posterity will scarcely believe, that this enemy of mankind, after forming a race like himself, first called preaching, and then, Dominican friars, died in his bed, was canonized for a saint, worshipped as a divinity, and proposed as a model of piety and virtue, to succeeding generations.

The growth of the Inquisition was very gradual, and not a few obstacles had to be surmounted previous to its complete establishment in the different Popish countries of Europe. Two objections, in particular, were raised against its erection: the one, that it was an encroachment on the authority of the Bishop of the place ; the other, that it deprived the civil magistrate of the trial and punishment of heretics ; a privilege which he formerly enjoyed. To remove the first of these difficulties, the Pope appointed the Bishop of the place to act in concert with the Inquisitor ; this, however, was but a name, the Inquisitor having the sole power lodged in his hands. To remedy the second, the civil magistrate was allowed to appoint the subordinate officers, and to inflict the legal punishment, after trial and condemnation by the Inquisitors.

Notwithstanding the opposition of the people to this novel tribunal, the Popes, aided by the Sovereigns of Europe, not only obtained its erection, but additional authority to the Inquisitors. These, hitherto unprecedented, judges, were soon afterwards empowered as the representatives of the Pope, to sit and pronounce sentence on those whom they stigmatized by the name of heretics. Their efforts were greatly assisted

by Frederick II. King of the Romans, who, in 1224, issued no fewer than four edicts against heresy, addressed "to his beloved princes, the venerable archbishops, bishops, and other prelates of the Church, to the dukes, marquisses, earls, barons, governors, judges, ministers, and all other his faithful subjects throughout the empire:" in these edicts, "he takes the Inquisitors under his protection, imposes on obstinate heretics the punishment of being burned to death, and of perpetual imprisonment on the penitent, committing the cognizance of the crime to the ecclesiastical, and the condemnation of the criminals, as well as the infliction of the punishment, to the secular judges.

The "Holy Office" soon extended its authority, and enlarged the number of its tribunals, in almost every kingdom of Europe, where any were suspected of heresy.

The Inquisitors are persons delegated by the Pope to inquire concerning all heresies, and to judge and punish heretics. Generally speaking, no one can be deputed to this office who is not forty years old. But if a person is remarkable for knowledge and prudence, he may, in Spain and Portugal, be created Inquisitor sooner. This office is accounted of so great dignity in the Church of Rome, that the title of "Most Reverend" is given to the Inquisitors as well as the Bishops.

Their privileges are many and great. They can excommunicate, suspend, and interdict. None excommunicated by them can be absolved, without command of the Pope, except in the article of death. They may apprehend heretics, though they take sanctuary in churches; and make statutes, and increase the punishments against them. They can grant indulgences of twenty or forty days, and give full pardon of sins to all their officers who died in their service; and have themselves granted a plenary indulgence in life and death. Whosoever shall damage the effects of the Inquisitor, or his officer, or shall kill, strike, or beat any one of them, is to be immediately delivered over to the secular court. They are freed from serving all offices. They are to have lodgings, provisions, and other necessities provided for them. They may proceed against all persons whatsoever, few excepted; against bishops, priests,

and friars, and every order of laymen, even princes and kings. The Inquisitors may also compel the governors of cities to swear that they will defend the Church against heretics, and will extirpate with all their power, from their governments, all who are noted for heretics by the Church. They may also command all secular magistrates to seize and keep in custody all heretics, and to carry them wheresoever they order. And for the better apprehending of heretics, the Inquisitors may go with an armed attendance, and bear arms themselves. They may compel witnesses to give evidence by fines, pledges, excommunication, or torture. They have also power to excommunicate all lay persons disputing about the faith, publicly or privately; and those who do not discover heretics, by themselves or other persons. And finally, they may condemn and prohibit all heretical books, and all books suspected of heresy, or containing propositions that are erroneous, or that differ from the Catholic faith.

The Inquisitor may also appoint a Vicar General over his whole province, with a power of proceeding to a definitive sentence on the impenitent and relapsed; and of receiving informations and accusations against any persons; and of citing, arresting, and putting in irons, witnesses and criminals, and of administering the question or torture; and, in general, of doing every thing which the Inquisitor himself, if present, could do.

The first Inquisitors had no fixed salary: the Holy Office was founded on devotion and zeal for the faith; its members were almost all monks, who had made a vow of poverty, and the priests who were associated in their labour were generally canons, or were provided with benefices. But when the Inquisitors began to make journeys, accompanied by recorders, alguazils, and an armed force, the Pope decreed that all their expenses should be defrayed by the Bishops, on the pretence that the Inquisitors laboured for the destruction of heresy in their dioceses. The expenses of the Inquisition were afterwards defrayed by the fines and confiscation of the condemned heretics: these resources were the only funds of the Holy Office, it never having possessed any fixed revenue.

No sooner was an Inquisitor appointed by the Roman Pontiff, than the magistrates of the place were commanded to arrest all persons suspected of heresy, to furnish the Inquisitor and his attendants with lodgings, and to protect them from every insult. One of the first acts of the Inquisitor was to publish an order, requiring all heretics voluntarily to confess themselves to be such, and promising them absolution, accompanied by a slight penance, provided their confession was made within a stated period. Those who were accused, and did not appear within the time prescribed, were shortly afterwards arrested and lodged in the Inquisition. The examination of the accused person soon followed, and his answers were compared with the testimonies of the informer and witnesses against him.

When an accused person denied all the charges, he was furnished with a copy of the process, but the names of the accuser and witnesses were carefully concealed. In the event of his still denying the charges, notwithstanding he was convicted, or strongly suspected, he was tortured to make him confess his heresies. If the crime imputed to the accused was not proved, he was acquitted, but still the name of his accuser was withheld.

The mode of procedure, from the first denunciation of the suspected victim, to the close of the proceedings, is as follows:—The first step is the apprehension of the person accused. This is given in charge to the high bailiff, who executes his commission by carrying with him a competent number of officers, taking the precaution to surprise the unhappy victim; which is generally done at night. Not the slightest hint of insecurity is given, not a suspicion is breathed, till, about midnight, a band of monsters calmly approach the residence of the accused, and demand an entrance. To the question, "In whose name is this required?" the answer is, "The Holy Office." "The thunderbolt launched from the black and angry cloud," says Puigbrach, "strikes not with such alarm as the sound of, 'Deliver yourself up a prisoner to the Inquisition.' Astonished and trembling, the unwary citizen hears the dismal voice; a thousand different affections at once seize upon his panic-struck frame; he remains perplexed and motionless; his



life is in danger,—his deserted wife and orphan children,—eternal infamy, the only patrimony that now awaits his bereft family,—are all ideas which rush upon his mind : he is at once agitated by an agony of dilemma and despair. The burning tear scarcely glistens on his livid cheek, the accents of woe die on his lips ; and amidst the alarm and desolation of his family, and the confusion and pity of his neighbours, he is borne away to dungeons, whose damp and bare walls can alone witness the anguish of his mind.”

“ Here,” continues the same writer, “ was usually confined the father of a family ; perhaps, his amiable wife or tender daughter, the exemplary priest, or peaceful scholar ; and in the meantime his house was bathed in tears, and filled with desolation. Venerable matrons and timid damsels\* have been hurried from their homes, and, ignorant of the cause of their misfortune, have awakened from the frenzy of the brain, and found themselves here, alone and helpless, in a solitary cell. Here the manly youth torn from his bewailing kindred, and often wrested from one still more endearing, pines, amidst damp seclusion and chill despair, and vainly invokes the names of objects which so lately thrilled him with pleasure. The dripping vaults re-echo the sighs of the aged father, no longer encircled by the fond endearments of a numerous progeny ; all, in short, are condemned to drag on existence amidst a death-like silence, and, as it were, immured from the sight of their weeping relatives.”

The prisoners are confined in separate cells, which are not only small, but contain no furniture, except a wooden bedstead, a table, one chair, and sometimes none. There are usually two rows of cells built over each other : the upper rows are

\* If women are imprisoned, they must each of them have, according to their rank, one honest woman, at least, for a companion, who, to prevent suspicion, must never be absent from her. This companion must be elderly, of a good life, pious, and devoted to Popery. Sometimes females are lodged in the convents of Nuns : when this is the case, the Abbess or Prioress is to admit none to discourse with the prisoner, without express permission from the Inquisitor. In all cases of importance, however, the female prisoner is lodged in the jail of the Inquisitor.

lighted by means of a small iron grate, and the lower are perfectly dark. In each cell there are placed two pots of water, one to wash in, the other to drink. The under rows of cells are appropriated for heretics, where, in solitude and silence, they never see a human being except their keeper. Thus persons the most nearly related to each other may be confined in contiguous cells without knowing it; and the merciless turnkeys are constantly on the watch to prevent the utterance of any sound, lest it should occasion the discovery of some secret. If a person bemoans himself, or bewails his misfortune, or prays to God, with an audible voice, he is instantly silenced.

Scarcely recovered from the surprise caused by his arrest, and appalled by the contrast his imagination forms of the many and secret steps previously taken, compared with the state of security in which he lately lived, from that moment the prisoner begins to despair: hopeless and dismayed, he already beholds the torment that awaits him: bewildered, as in the mazes of a labyrinth, wherever he turns his eyes some fresh object increases his pain, and adds to his anguish. Under the undoubted supposition that, in this abode of wretchedness, the appearances of the most officious charity conceal designs of the most insidious cruelty, he beholds no one who is not an enemy, and hears nothing that is not directed to his ruin.

When the prisoner is brought before his judge, the place where he appears is called the Table of the Holy Office. At the farther end of it there is placed a crucifix, raised up almost as high as the ceiling. In the middle of the room there is a table. At that end which is nearest the crucifix, sits the secretary or notary of the Inquisition. The criminal is brought in by the beadle, with his head, arms, and feet naked, and is followed by one of the keepers. When they come to the Chamber of Audience, the beadle enters first, makes a profound reverence before the Inquisitor, and then withdraws. After this, the criminal enters alone, and is ordered to sit down on a bench at the other end of the table, over against the secretary. The Inquisitor sits on his right hand. On the table near the criminal lies a missal, or book of the Gospels, and he is ordered to lay his hand on one of them, and to swear that he will

declare the truth, and keep secrecy. After taking this oath, of declaring the truth both of himself and others, the Inquisitor interrogates him of divers matters : as, whether he knows why he was taken up, or hath been informed of it by any one or more persons ; where, when, and how he was apprehended. If he says that he knows nothing of it, he is asked whether he cannot guess at the reason ; whether he knows in what prisons he is detained, and upon what account men are imprisoned there. If he says he cannot guess at the cause of his imprisonment, but knows that he is in the prisons of the Holy Office, where heretics and persons suspected of heresy are confined, he is told, that since he knows persons are confined there for their profanation of religion, he ought to conclude that he also is confined for the same reason ; and must therefore declare what he believes to be the cause of his own apprehension and confinement in the prisons of the Holy Office. If he says he cannot imagine what it should be, before he is asked any other questions, he receives a gentle admonition, and is put in mind of the lenity of the Holy Office towards those who confess without forcing, and of the rigour of justice used towards those who are obstinate. They also compare other tribunals with the Holy Office, and remind him, that in others the confession of the crime draws after it immediate punishment, but that in the court of the Inquisition, those who confess and are penitent, are treated with greater gentleness. After this, he is admonished in writing, and told, that the ministers of the Holy Office never take up any one, nor are used to apprehend any one, without a just cause, and that therefore they earnestly beseech, and command, and enjoin him exactly to recollect and diligently to consider his actions, to examine his conscience, and purge it from all those offences and errors it labours under, and for which he is informed against. After this he is asked, what race he is of ; who were his parents and ancestors ; and (especially if he be the descendant of a Jew, Mahometan, or Sectary) whether any one of them was at any time taken up by the Holy Office and enjoined penance. He is then questioned as to where he was brought up ; in what places he hath dwelt ;

whether he ever changed his country ; why he did so, and went into another place ; with whom he conversed in the aforesaid places ; who were his friends, and with whom he was intimate ; whether he ever conversed with any of his acquaintance about matters of religion, or heard them speak about religion ; in what place, and when, and how often, and of what matters they conversed. He is moreover asked of what profession he is, and what employment of life he follows ; whether he be rich or poor ; what returns he hath, and what are the expenses of his living. Then he is commanded to give an account of his life, and to declare what he has done from his childhood even to this time. And that he may declare all this, he is asked in what places or cities he studied, and what studies he followed ; who were his masters, (whose names he must tell,) what arts he learnt, what books he hath had and read, and whether he hath now any books treating of religion, and what ; whether he hath ever been examined and cited, or sued, or processed before any other tribunal, or the tribunal of the Holy Inquisition, and for what causes ; and whether he was absolved or condemned, by what judge, and in what year ; whether he was ever excommunicated, and for what cause ; whether he was afterwards absolved or condemned, and for what reason ; whether he hath every year sacramentally confessed his sins, how often, and in what church. Then he is commanded to give the names of his confessors, and of those from whom he hath received the eucharist, especially for the ten years last past, or more ; and to say what orations or holy prayers he recites. He is finally asked, whether he hath any enemies ; and is required to declare their names, and the reasons of their enmity. If the criminal is persuaded by these, or by more or less such interrogatories, openly to confess the truth, his cause is finished, because it is immediately known what will be the issue of it.

After undergoing the usual number of examinations before the Inquisitors, if the prisoner still persists in protesting his innocence, he is condemned to the torture : attempts are first made, however, to frighten him by a variety of inquisitorial methods, and the instruments of torture are shown him at a

distance. Having been conducted into a large room, dimly lighted, the executioner is pointed out to him; dressed in a black gown, which reaches down to the feet, and having a long cowl drawn over his head and face: this revolting figure has in his hand an iron collar, or some other instrument of torture, and stares in solemn silence at the prisoner through two holes which are cut for this purpose in his cowl. "All this," says Gonsalvius, "is intended to strike the miserable wretch with greater terror, when he sees himself about to be tortured by the hands of one who thus looks like the very devil."

Three kinds of torture have been generally used by the Inquisition, viz., the pulley, the rack, and fire. As sad and loud lamentations accompany the sharpness of the pain, the victim is conducted to a retired apartment, called the Hall of Torture, which is usually situated under ground, in order that his cries may not interrupt the silence which reigns throughout the other parts of the building. Here the Court assemble; and the judges being seated, together with their secretary, the prisoner is again questioned respecting his crime; and if he still persist in denying it, the officers proceed to the execution of the sentence.

The first torture is performed by fixing a pulley to the roof of the hall, with a strong hempen or grass rope, passed through it; the executioners then seize the culprit, and, leaving him naked to his drawers, put shackles on his feet, and suspend weights of one hundred pounds to his ankles; his hands are then bound behind his back, and the rope from the pulley strongly fastened to his wrists: in this situation, he is raised about the height of a man from the ground; and, in the meantime, the judges coldly admonish him to reveal the truth: in this position, as many as twelve stripes are sometimes inflicted on him, according to the inferences and weight of the offence: he is then suffered to fall suddenly, but in such a manner, that neither his feet nor the weights reach the ground, in order to render the shock of his body the greater.

The torture of the rack, also called that of water and ropes,

and the one most commonly used, is inflicted by stretching the victim, naked as before, on his back, along a wooden horse or hollow bench, with sticks across like a ladder, and prepared for the purpose. To this his feet, hands, and head are strongly bound, in such a manner as to leave him no room to move. In this attitude, he experiences eight strong contortions in his limbs, viz., two on the fleshy parts of the arm above the elbow, and two below, one on each thigh, and one on the calf of each leg. He is besides obliged to swallow seven pints of water, slowly dropped into his mouth, on a piece of silk or ribbon, which, by the pressure of the water, glides down his throat, so as to produce the sensation of a person who is drowning. At other times, his face is covered with a thin piece of linen, through which the water runs into his mouth and nostrils, and prevents him from breathing. Of such a form did the Inquisition of Valladolid make use, in 1528, towards Licentiate Juan Salas, physician of that city.

For the torture by fire, the prisoner is placed with his legs naked in the stocks; the soles of his feet are then well greased with lard, and a blazing chafing-dish applied to them, by the heat of which they become perfectly fried. When his complaints of the pain are loudest, a board is placed between his feet and the fire, and he is again commanded to confess; but this is taken away if he persist in his obstinacy. This species of torture is deemed the most cruel of all; but is, as well as the others, applied, indifferently, to persons of both sexes, at the will of the judges, according to the circumstances of the crime, and the strength of the sufferer.

The duration of the torture, by a Bull of Paul III., could not exceed an hour; and if, in the Inquisition of Italy, it was not usual for it to last so long, in that of Spain, which has always boasted of surpassing all others in zeal for the faith, it was prolonged to an hour and a quarter. When the victim remained firm in his denial, and overcame the pangs inflicted on him,—or when, after confessing under them, he refused to ratify his confession within twenty-four hours afterwards,—he

has been forced to undergo as much as three tortures, with only one day's interval between each.

The method of torturing, and the degree of torture, now used in the Spanish Inquisition, will be well understood from the history of Isaac Orobio, a Jew and Doctor of Physic, who was accused to the Inquisition as a Jew, by a certain Moor, his servant, who had, by his order before this, been whipped for thieving. Four years afterwards, Orobio was again accused by a certain enemy of his, of another fact, which would have proved him a Jew; but the doctor obstinately denied that he was one. I will here give the account of his torture, as I had it from his own mouth. After three whole years which he had been in jail, and several examinations, and the discovery of the crimes to him of which he was accused, in order to his confession, and his constant denial of them, he was at length carried out of his jail, and, through several turnings, brought to the place of torture. This was toward the evening. It was a large under-ground room, arched, and the walls were covered with black hangings. The candlesticks were fastened to the wall, and the whole room was enlightened by candles placed in them. At one end of it, there was an inclosed place, like a closet, where the Inquisitor and notary sat at a table; so that the place seemed to him as the very mansion of death, every thing appearing so terrible and awful. Here the Inquisitor again admonished him to confess the truth, before his torments began. When he answered he had told the truth, the Inquisitor gravely protested, that since he was so obstinate as to suffer the torture, the Holy Office would be innocent, if he should even expire in his torments. When he had said this, the attendants put a linen garment over his body, and drew it so close on each side, that he was almost squeezed to death. When he was almost dying, they slackened at once the sides of the garment; and after he began to breathe again, the sudden alteration put him to the most grievous anguish and pain. When he had overcome this torture, the same admonition was repeated, that he would confess the truth, in order to prevent farther torment. As he persisted in his denial, they tied his thumbs so very tight with small cords, as made the extre-

mities of them greatly swell, and caused the blood to spirt out from under his nails. After this, he was placed with his back against a wall, and fixed upon a little bench. Into the wall were fastened little iron pulleys, through which ropes were drawn, and tied round his body in several places, and especially his arms and legs. The executioner, by drawing these ropes with great violence, fastened his body to the wall; so that, his hands and feet, and especially his fingers and toes, being bound so straitly, he was put to the most exquisite pain, his sensation being similar to that of a man dissolving in flames. In the midst of these torments, the torturer suddenly drew the bench from under him, so that the miserable wretch hung by the cords, without any thing to support him, and, by the weight of his body, drew the knots yet much closer. After this, a new kind of torture succeeded. There was an instrument like a small ladder, made of two upright pieces of wood, and five cross ones sharpened before. This the torturer placed over against him, and, by a certain proper motion, struck it with great violence against both his shins; so that he received upon each of them at once, five violent strokes, which put him to such intolerable anguish that he fainted away. After he came to himself, they inflicted on him the last torture. The torturer tied ropes about Orobio's wrists, and then put those ropes about his own back, which was covered with leather to prevent his hurting himself; then falling backwards, and putting his feet up against the wall, he drew them with all his might, till they cut through Orobio's flesh even to the very bones: this torture was repeated thrice, the ropes being tied round his arms, about the distance of two fingers' breadth from the former wound, and drawn with the same violence. It happened, that as the ropes were drawing the second time, they slid into the first wound; which caused so great an effusion of blood, that he seemed to be dying. Upon this, the physician and surgeon, who are always ready, were sent for out of a neighbouring apartment, to give their advice, as to whether the torture could be continued without danger of death; lest the ecclesiastical judges should be guilty of an irregularity, if the criminal should die in his tor-



ments. The doctors, who were far from being enemies to Orobio, answered, that he had strength to endure the rest of the torture: they hereby preserved him from the repetition of the tortures which he had already endured; his sentence being, that he should suffer them all at one time, one after another. So that if at any time they are forced to leave off through fear of death, all the tortures, even those already suffered, must be successively inflicted, to satisfy the sentence. Upon this, the torture was repeated the third time, and then it ended. After this, he was bound up in his own clothes, and carried back to his prison, and was scarce healed of his wounds in seventy days. And, inasmuch as he made no confession under his torture, he was condemned, not as one convicted, but suspected, of Judaism, to wear for two whole years the infamous habit called *sanbenito*, and after that term to perpetual banishment from the kingdom of Seville.

Ernestus Eremundus Frisius, in his *History of the Low Country Disturbances*, gives us an account from Gonsalvius, of another kind of torture.

There is a wooden bench, which they call the wooden horse, made hollow like a trough, so as to contain a man lying on his back at full length; about the middle of which there is a round bar laid across, upon which the back of the person is placed; so that he lies upon the bar, instead of being let into the bottom of the trough, with his feet much higher than his head. As he is lying in this posture, his arms, thighs, and shins are tied round with small cords or strings, which, being drawn with screws at proper distances from each other, cut into the very bones, so as to be no longer discerned. Besides this, the torturer throws over his mouth and nostrils a thin cloth, so that he is scarcely able to breathe; and, in the meanwhile, a small stream of water like thread, not drop by drop, falls from on high, upon the mouth of the person lying in this miserable condition, and gradually presses down the thin cloth to the bottom of his throat; so that there is no possibility of breathing, the mouth being stopped with water, and the nostrils with the cloth; and the poor wretch is in the same agony as persons ready to die, and breathing

out their last. When this cloth is drawn out of his throat, as it often is, that he may reply to the questions, it is stained with blood, and the removal is like pulling his bowels through his mouth.

But enough, and more than enough, has been brought forward, on this inhuman and revolting practice of men, who, nevertheless, style themselves Priests of the compassionate Redeemer. Rather may we not call them, and does not their horrid conduct entitle them to the appellation, ministers of darkness, and monsters of cruelty? My soul, come thou not into their secret; unto their assembly, mine honour, be not thou united.

The punishments inflicted by the Inquisition, says a modern writer, may be regarded as of two sorts,—punishments not issuing in death, and punishments which have that issue. Under the first of these heads are comprehended the ecclesiastical punishments, such as penances, excommunication, interdict, and the deprivation of clerical offices and dignities; and under this head too, are included the confiscation of goods, the disinheriting of children, (for no child, though he be a Catholic, can inherit the property of a father dying in heresy,) the loss of all right to obedience on the part of kings and other feudal superiors, and a corresponding loss of right to the fulfilment of oaths and obligations on the part of subjects; imprisonment in monasteries or in jails, whipping, the galleys, and the ban of the empire. Under the second head, or that of punishments issuing in death, there are only two instances, viz., strangling at the stake, and death by fire. These instances may easily be comprehended in a short account of the auto-da-fé.

In the procession of the auto-da-fé, the monks of the order of St. Dominic walk first. These carry the standard of the Inquisition, bearing on the one side the picture of St. Dominic himself, curiously wrought in needle-work, and on the other, the figure of the cross, between those of an olive branch and a naked sword, with the motto, "*Justitia et misericordia.*" Immediately after the Dominicans, come the penitents, dressed in black coats without sleeves, barefooted, and with wax candles

in their hands. Among these, the principal offenders wear the infamous habit called the *sanbenito*. Next come the penitents, who have narrowly escaped the punishment of death; and these have flames painted upon their garments or *benitos*, but with the points of the flames turned downwards, importing that they have been saved, "yet so as by fire." Next come the negative and the relapsed, the wretches who are doomed to the stake; these also have flames upon their habits, but pointing upwards. After the negative and the relapsed, come the guilty and the impenitent, or those who have been convicted of heresy, and who persist in it; and these, besides the flames pointing upwards, have their picture (drawn for that purpose a few days before) upon their breasts, with dogs, serpents, and devils, all with open mouths, painted about it. This part of the procession is closed by a number of individuals carrying the figures of those who have died in heresy, or large chests, painted black, and marked with serpents and devils, containing their bones dug out of their graves, in order that they may be reduced to ashes. A troop of familiars on horseback follow the prisoners; and after these come the subordinate Inquisitors, and other functionaries of the Holy Office, upon mules; and last of all comes the Inquisitor General himself, in a rich dress, mounted upon a white horse, and attended by all the nobility who are not employed as familiars in the procession. The train moves slowly along, the great bell of the cathedral tolling at proper intervals.

The order of this procession sometimes varies. Gonsalvius thus describes it as seen in Spain. "In the first place went some schoolboys, brought out of a certain college, in which boys were taught, which they commonly call the house of teaching; who strike an awe upon others by their habit, singing, and order, in which they are kept by certain clergymen clothed in surplices. They walk along, singing the litanies of the saints, repeating them alternately, the chorus alternately answering 'Ora pro nobis.' After these follow the prisoners themselves, commonly called penitentials, disposed, as it were, into several classes in this order. Next after the children walk those who are convicted of minor faults. The tokens of their

guilt are usually unlighted candles, halters about their necks, wooden bits, and paper mitres. They walk with their heads uncovered, that the mitre may not be concealed, and, after the manner of slaves, without a cloak. Those who excel others in birth or riches, follow after those who are meaner. Next to these march those who are clothed in *sanbenitos*, or military mantles, marked with a cross, the same order being observed as above, according to the distinction of the persons. Those who are defiled in holy orders, as they are superior in dignity, so also are they in their place or rank in the procession. After these come the third and last class, viz., of those who are appointed for the fire. Every prisoner is attended by two armed familiars, for his safe custody, one on each side of him; those who are to die have, besides, two monks, or the *atins*, as they call them, walking by them. The whole council of the city, consisting of the *alguazils*, jurors, the judges of twenty-four degrees, the great officers of the court, the regent or viceroy himself, or his deputy, who are followed by a great number of nobility on horseback, immediately follow the classes of prisoners, who, according to the custom of a triumph, ought certainly to march first. After these comes the ecclesiastical order, the clergy, beneficed persons, and curates walking first. Next after them walk the whole chapter of the principal church, which they commonly call 'the cabild of the greater church.' Then the abbots and priors of the monks' orders, with their attendants. All these walk before the holy tribunal, to do honour to it, because on that day it openly triumphs. Between these and the next after there is a space left empty, in which the fiscal of the Inquisition, who hath had no small share in gaining that victory to the holy tribunal, walks as standard bearer, in truly military pomp, displaying and opening the standard made of red damask silk. Every thing in it is wrought with silk, gold, and purple. Upon the very point of this banner is fastened a silver crucifix, washed over with gold, of great value, to which the superstitious multitude pay a peculiar veneration, for this reason only, because it belongs to the Inquisition. At length come the Fathers of the Faith themselves, with a slow pace, and pro-

found gravity, truly triumphing, as becomes the principal generals of that victory. After them come all the familiars of the Holy Inquisition on horseback. Then an innumerable company of the common people, and the mob, without any order or character. In this pomp they march from the jail of the prison to the lofty and magnificent scaffold, which is built of wood in the noblest and most capacious street of the city, for shewing the penitents to public view, and for hearing sentences. On this scaffold they make them sit, in the same order as they marched. There is also another scaffold, almost as large as the former, over against it, in which is erected the tribunal of the Lords Inquisitors, where they sit in the inquisitorial and divine majesty, attended with all the grandeur in which they came. The King, if present, the Queen, and the whole court, and also the Legates, and all the nobility of Spain generally, honour this solemnity with their presence. The seat of the Inquisitor General is like a tribunal, raised above the King's. When all are seated in their places, they begin celebrating mass; but when the Priest who officiates is come about the middle of the service, he leaves the altar, and goes back to his proper place. Then the supreme Inquisitor comes down from the scaffold, robed in all his ornaments, and, making his reverences before the altar, ascends by several steps to the King, attended by some of the officers of the Inquisition, who carry the crucifix and Gospels, and the book in which is contained the oath by which the King obliges himself to protect the Catholic faith, to the extirpation of heresies, and the defence of the Inquisition. The King, standing bare-headed, having on one side of him the Constable of Castile, or one of the grandees of Spain, who holds up the sword of state, swears that he will keep the oath, which is publicly read over to him by one of the members of the royal council, and remains in the same posture till the supreme Inquisitor goes back to his place. After this one of the secretaries of the Inquisition goes into the desk, and reads over the like oath, and takes it from the council and the whole assembly; then all the several sentences are read over, and the solemnity lasts sometimes till nine in the evening. Criminals, penitent and reconciled, and

brought out in public procession, are carried back to their former jails in the holy office, on the same day on which the sentences are pronounced against them, and on the day following are brought to an audience of the Inquisitors, and admonished of those things which are enjoined them by their sentences, and how grievously they will be punished unless they humbly do the penances assigned them. After this, they send every one to the place to which his sentence ordered him. Those who are condemned to the galleys, are sent to the jails of the secular judge. Some are whipped through the principal streets of the city, and sometimes receive two hundred lashes. Others wear the infamous sanbenito, some every day, others must appear in it only on Sundays and holidays. But in these things every individual Inquisition observes its own regulations. Before the prisoners are dismissed, they are carried from the jail to some other house, where they are every day instructed in the doctrines and rites of the Church of Rome; and when they are dismissed, every one hath a writing given him, containing the penances imposed upon him; to which is added a command, that every one shall exactly keep secret every thing he hath seen or heard, and all the transactions relating to him, whether at the table, or in any places of the Holy Office : and to this secrecy every prisoner binds himself by a solemn oath."

At the place of execution, stakes are set up, according to the number of the sufferers. They are usually about twelve feet in height, and at the bottom of each there is placed a considerable quantity of dry furze. The negative and the relapsed are first strangled at the stake, and afterwards burned. The convicted and the impenitent, or the *professed*, as they are otherwise called, are burned alive. To these, certain Jesuits who are appointed to attend them, address many exhortations, imploring them to be reconciled to the Church of Rome ; but commonly without effect. The executioner therefore ascends, and turns the prisoners off from the ladder, upon a small board fastened to the stake, within half a yard from the top; and the Jesuits having declared, "that they leave them to the devil, who is standing at their elbow, to receive their souls as soon

as they have quitted their bodies," a great shout is raised, and the whole multitude unite in crying, "Let the dogs' beards be trimmed! let the dogs' beards be trimmed!" This is done by thrusting flaming furze, tied to the end of a long pole, against their faces; and the process is often continued till the features of the prisoners are all wasted away, and they can no longer be known by their looks. The furze at the bottom of the stakes is then set on fire; but as the sufferers are raised to the height of ten feet above the ground, the flame seldom reaches beyond their knees, so that they really are roasted to death. "Yet though, out of hell," as Dr. Geddes adds, "there cannot be a more lamentable spectacle than this, it is beheld by people of both sexes, and of all ages, with the utmost demonstrations of joy; a bull feast, or a farce, being a dull entertainment compared with an auto-da-fé." \*

It only remains to mention here, the hypocritical manner in which the Inquisitors deliver over those who are sentenced to

\* The inefficiency of severe punishments to repress the errors of a creed, are thus beautifully pointed out by the historian Thuanus, himself a Roman Catholic. "Experience has taught us, that fire and sword, exile and proscription, rather irritate than heal the distemper that has its seat in the mind. These only affect the body; but judicious and edifying doctrine, gently distilled, descends into the heart." "Religion is not subject to command, but is infused into well-prepared minds by a conviction of the truth, with the concurrence of divine grace. Tortures have no influence over her; in fact, they rather tend to make men obstinate, than to subdue or persuade them....Confiding in the support of God's grace, the religious man is content to suffer; and the ills to which mortality is liable, he takes to himself without complaint. Let the executioner stand before him; let him prepare tortures, whet the knife, and kindle the pile, he will still persevere; and his mind will dwell, not upon what he is to *endure*, but upon the part which it behoves him to *act*. His happiness is within his own bosom, and whatever assails him outwardly is trivial, and only grazes the surface of the body....Consider the conduct of one of those who perished by torture for their religious opinions. When bound to the stake, he began with bended knee to sing a hymn, regardless of the smoke and flames; and when the executioner would have set fire to the pile behind him, 'Come hither,' said he, 'and kindle it before my face: if I could have felt dread, I should have avoided *coming* to this place.' Tortures, therefore, by no means repress the ardour of innovators in religion; but their minds are rather hardened by them, to suffer and attempt more. Mild persuasion and amicable conference may conciliate those, whom force cannot subdue."

death into the hands of the secular power. Having declared the condemned individual "an apostate heretic, a defaulter, and an abettor of heretics," and that he has "thereby fallen into and incurred the grievous sentence of excommunication," &c., they, as if to join insult to cruelty, add, "Nevertheless we earnestly beseech and enjoin the said secular arm to deal so tenderly and compassionately with him, as to prevent the effusion of blood, or danger of death!!" No words can do justice to such a masterpiece of hypocrisy; for let it be remembered, that the Inquisition positively commands the civil magistrate to put the condemned to death. The gross falsehood of its professions, therefore,—the aspect of meekness which it thus displays, while it thirsts for the blood of, and dooms to the flames, its wretched victim,—clearly proves, that "there is no faithfulness in their mouth, that their inward part is very wickedness, and that their throat is an open sepulchre." Is there in all history an instance of so gross and impudent a mockery of God and the world, as this of the Inquisition, beseeching the civil magistrate not to put the heretics they have condemned and delivered to them to death? For were they in earnest when they made this solemn petition to the secular magistrates, why do they bring their prisoners out of the Inquisition, and deliver them to those magistrates in coats painted over with flames? Why do they teach, that heretics, above all other malefactors, ought to be punished with death? And why do they never resent the secular magistrates having so little regard to their earnest and joint petition, as never to fail to burn all the heretics that are delivered to them by the Inquisition, within an hour or two after they receive them into their hands? And why, in Rome, where the supreme civil and ecclesiastical authority is lodged in the same person, is this petition of the Inquisition, which is made there as well as in other places, never granted? The truth is, as already noticed, the Inquisitors are commanded by the Bulls of various Popes, to *compel* the civil magistrate, under penalty of excommunication, and other ecclesiastical censures, within six days, readily to execute the sentences pronounced by the Inquisitors against heretics, that is, to commit them to the flames!



## CHAPTER XXIII.

## PIUS IV. AND V.

AT this time Paul was very desirous of convincing the world, that he had sincerely at heart a correction of abuses in the church; and with this view, he ordered all Bishops to proceed to their own dioceses, and all who had embraced a monastic life to return to their monasteries, admitting of no excuse whatever with regard to the latter. But with whatever zeal or sincerity individual Popes may have sought to correct abuses, it is evident that their best exertions would be neutralized by the system of an infallible Church, all the decisions and conduct of which are said to be dictated by the Holy Spirit; from whence a reformation, such as was necessary, became impossible. It was now almost too late to act upon a new course of practice; he was unable to remedy the evils of his administration, as he died on the 18th of August, 1559, in the eighty-fourth year of his age, after a pontificate of little more than four years.

Pius IV., whose original name was John Angelo di Medici, was chosen, on Christmas Day, to succeed Paul, after a delay of more than four months, caused by the intrigues of different Cardinals of noble families, whose power was so equally balanced, that no one of them could obtain the requisite superiority over his rivals.

Soon after his accession to the Papacy, Pius dispatched a Nuncio to England, with secret instructions and a conciliatory letter; offering to annul the sentence against the marriage of Elizabeth's mother, to allow the use of the cup to the English, and to confirm the English liturgy. But Elizabeth had chosen the better part; and the Nuncio was informed, that he could not be permitted to set foot in England. With a more commendable spirit, Pius released various individuals whom his predecessor had left imprisoned at his death, under suspicion of

heresy ; but, with a strange perversity of mind, he soon rebuilt that dreaded inquisitorial mansion, which the Roman people had rushed to destroy as soon as they knew Paul IV. had expired. He also empowered the kings of France and Spain to appropriate the property of the Church, for the purpose of applying it to crush the Reformers. He encouraged the French government to the persecution of the Protestants, that its attention might be thereby diverted from urging any measures of reform on the Council then assembled at Trent. To this Council His Holiness had sent five Legates to preside in his place ; and, after divers delays, the Council had been opened by his order, on the eighteenth of January, 1562 ; and matters were treated therein, after the same manner in which they had been treated in preceding Councils, under Paul the Third, and Julius ; that is to say, the Pope reigned absolutely, and nothing was done but according to his will. His See was exalted more than before ; the disorders of the government of the Church were rather confirmed than corrected ; and the errors, and superstitions, and worship, set up by men, instead of being reformed, were, on the contrary, established and enforced by a perpetual and indispensable law. Such was the success of this assembly.

It would be too long to relate minutely that which passed there. Any may read with pleasure and with profit all the particulars in some of the famous historians of those times. It shall suffice me for the present to say, that, considering the means which the Popes took to govern that Council, we ought not to think it strange if they obtained their ends, and if they always turned things to which side they pleased. First of all, they took particular care to crowd it with Italian Prelates : the number of these alone generally exceeded that of one half of the representatives of all the other nations joined together. By this means the Court of Rome might very well assure itself of the Council ; for although all the Prelates that composed it should not have been bound to the Popes by an oath, yet the Italians were more particularly dependent upon them, and to these the Court of Rome would not fail to represent the interest that Italy had in preserving to itself the ecclesiastical government over other na-

tions; and to maintain, by consequence, the authority of Rome. Secondly, they kept up a stock of money in the hands of the Legates, to help the poor Bishops, and to gain them more and more to them, and to make also presents and gratifications to persons who could render them most service. For they judged that the best means to obtain partisans, was to make a liberal acknowledgment of the good offices already received, and to encourage the hope of future reward. In the third place, the Pope was not contented with presiding in the Council by his Legates. Pius the Fourth unjustly insinuated it into the decree of the opening on the 18th of January, 1562, that they should treat of matters *proponentibus Legatis*; and when some Spanish Prelates would have opposed that clause, saying, that it was unusual in Councils, and that it wholly took away all liberty from the assembly, where every one ought to have a right to propose, the Legates derided them, and let them alone without giving them any answer. The Pope himself having heard of this opposition, commanded his Legates that they should remain obstinate in that decree, and that they should not remit so much as one point: and the King of Spain having made some complaints, upon the advice that his ambassador gave him, the Pope eluded them, and would change nothing. Behold, therefore, the Court of Rome well nigh already assured of two great points; to wit, on the one side, of the greatest number of persons; and on the other, of the propositions that should be made in the Council. There remained nothing but to make sure of their deliberations, and for this they practised divers means. The two most general were, that of the congregations at Trent itself in the house of the chief Legate, and that of the congregation at Rome. The former consisted in this, that from the beginning of the Council under Paul the Third, they unjustly made this order to be established, that, in imitation of that which had been in the last Council of Lateran, there should be made divers particular congregations to examine the matters there which the Legates should propose to them; that afterwards the same matters so digested be brought to a general congregation, which should be held in the house of the Legate, where every one should tell his opinion; and that

after this, they should frame the decrees to contain and make them pass in Council. The second consisted in this, that from the beginning the Pope had deputed some Cardinals at Rome to consult about the affairs of the Council, and to have, as it were, the overlooking of all that should pass there. So that before they came to make any decree, the Legates at Trent had discovered the bottom of the sentiments of the Prelates, and the reasons of every one; since, before they concluded any thing, they sent all to Rome, from whence they received their orders, and the deliberations of the Council, wholly made to their hands: and this is that which they called, the Holy Ghost coming in a cloak-bag.

In one word, they used in the management of this assembly all that was most refined, most forcible and profound in human policy,—promises, threats, secret negotiation, canvassings, diversions, delays, authority; and, in general, nothing was forbore that could turn and corrupt men's minds. The Pope and his Court had a great many difficulties to overcome, and oppositions to surmount, which often put them into great troubles, and inquietudes, and fears; but, in the end, they were so well served, that they remained masters, and saw all things succeed according to their desires.

When information of the dissolution of the Council was brought to Pius, he received it with great joy, and ordained a solemn thanksgiving on the occasion; and in a very short time he published a Bull of confirmation, requiring all the Prelates and Princes to receive and enforce the decrees of the Council of Trent, prohibiting persons from writing any explication or commentary of them, and commanding the Catholics every where to have recourse, in all doubtful cases, to the Apostolic See.\* Pius IV. died in December, 1565, in the 67th year of

\* Dudithius, Bishop of Tinia, a witness of the wiles and stratagems practised in this Council to accomplish the interests of the Roman Court, relates, that they saw daily hungry and needy Bishops resort thither, youth for the most part, who only began to have beards, addicted to luxury and riot, hired only to vote as the Pope directed. In this assembly, says he, the Holy Ghost had no concern. The counsels given there were the suggestions of human policy, calculated to support the Pope's exorbitant and shameful domination.

his age, after a pontificate of nearly six years. The news of the fact was received with great joy by the Roman people, who hated the Pontiff, on account of the severity and oppression of his government. The successor of Pius IV. was Cardinal Ghislieri, who took the title of Pius V., a man of obscure birth, and of a temper inflexibly rigid: the pride and passion of his mature life was to be a Roman Inquisitor. If experience had not proved, that it is possible to hold this dreaded and dreadful office, without exhibiting any

In reality, instead of charitable and effectual endeavours being exerted by the Bishops assembled, towards calming and composing the religious dissensions which had arisen, the Popes, by whose authority the Council had been summoned, partly through the intrigues and the artifices of their Legates who conducted its deliberations, and partly through the ignorance of some of the Prelates, and the indigence and corruption of others, acquired such an ascendancy in it, as to dictate its decrees, which they framed, not with a view to restore the peace and unity of the Church, but to establish their own power and dominion. Hence, contrary to the decrees of the Councils of Constance and Basil, the Pope was tacitly acknowledged its superior. His Legates alone were permitted to propose what subjects should be debated. The Bishops, who, till then, were believed to receive their commission from Christ, by the channel of ordination, were for the first time called and treated only as the Pope's delegates. To the Pope's approbation or rejection the decrees, to his interpretation the doctrines, and to his dispensation all the discipline, of this Council were subjected. The members of this Council, therefore, could not, consistently with their own conduct, in requesting the Pope's confirmation of their decrees, seriously expect, that they should be accounted the real dictators of the Holy Ghost by the discerning part of the world. In publishing them as such they were guilty of great profaneness. On the proceedings of the Council of Trent, Richerus, an eminent and learned doctor of the University of Paris, has made the following ingenuous remark:—"This was the issue and aim of the Trent reformation, that no respect should be had to truth, but to show and outward pomp only, and that all things should be referred to the splendour and profit of the Roman Court." Thus the Christian world was totally disappointed of that reformation, which it had for a long time loudly demanded *in capite et membris*, both in the head and members of the Roman See, from whence an inundation of corruption had flowed upon the whole western Church, as was acknowledged by Pope Adrian the Sixth, and the Cardinal's deputies of Pope Paul the Third. The Council of Trent, so far from accomplishing this so earnestly wished for reformation, augmented the depravation complained of in doctrine, and authenticated all the Antichristian usurpations which the Popes had ever made upon the authority of particular Churches, upon Princes, and upon Christendom in general.

marks of an atrocious disposition, we might have inferred from his taste for it, that he was of a fierce and merciless nature. But having so perverted his judgment and deadened his moral sensibilities, as to select it as his pleasure and as his merit, he exercised this cruel office effectually against those who wished reformation at Como, even though of episcopal dignity; and, pursuing it afterwards at Pergamo, he was at length chosen by Paul IV. with preference and discernment of a congenial spirit, as the person most adapted to be appointed commissary of the Inquisition at Rome. In this station he so fulfilled his patron's wishes, as to become to his then satisfaction, but to his present disgrace with every honorable and cultivated mind, the "somme inquisitore."

On the death of Pius IV. he was perceived, by the Cardinal Consistory, to be the character who would most resolutely enforce the violent plans which had been resolved on against the Reformation; and was chosen suddenly and almost unanimously the new Pope: by inspiration, in the opinion of his friends; and the claim may be allowed, if the nature of the influence be named from the character of the actions which he most zealously promoted. The people expressed no joy at his coronation: they dreaded a severe government under a man, in whose rigid and austere manners his successive promotions from the condition of a simple monk had made no change. To reader his name worthy of the grateful remembrance of virtuous and good men, he displayed great zeal and diligence in promoting a reformation in the manners and morals of all ranks of the people. He repressed the excessive pride and ostentation of the Cardinals, as well as the luxury in dress and mode of living of the other orders of the Clergy. He gave directions for strictly enjoining on the Clergy residence, and commanded that no person should be admitted to ecclesiastical benefices who would not reside; and when he was told, that a strict adherence to such a decree would cause the Court of Rome to be deserted, he replied, that it was better that the Court should be deserted. He displayed, however, a furious zeal against the Protestants, by persecuting them with the same savage severity, which rendered him odious in his former character of

**Inquisitor.** He also incited Philip II. to attempt the suppression of the Protestant faith in the United Provinces, by war, massacre, and extermination; and induced him to entrust the expedition designed for this purpose to the execrable and ferocious Duke of Alva. For this great zeal in support of the faith, Pius was applauded by Clement XI., who also canonized him by a Bull, dated May 22nd, 1712. In 1568, Pius published his famous Bull, entitled, "*In Cæna Domini*," which it was usual to publish at Rome on Maundy Thursday, every year, till it was suppressed by Pope Clement XIV. By this Bull, anathemas were pronounced against such persons as should appeal to General Councils from the decrees of the Popes, and against those Princes who should impose restraints on ecclesiastical jurisdiction, or exact contributions from the Clergy. This Bull, evidently calculated to deprive Princes of their sovereignty, and to render them and their subjects entirely dependent on the will of the Roman Pontiffs, was never received in any kingdom out of Italy.

The Papacy of Pius the Fifth, though short in its duration, became unusually extensive and destructive in its operations, from the lamentable resolution he had adopted to exterminate the Protestant Reformation by force, and, therefore, by human bloodshed, and by all the sufferings which vengeance and power could bring upon human sensibility. Among his other acts, he distinguished himself by commencing, and acrimoniously pursuing, a personal and deadly warfare against the only maiden Queen that has swayed the English sceptre. Elizabeth was no Amazon, and was as inoffensive to this particular Pope, as one individual could be to any contemporary member of European society; and yet, from his intellectual bigotry and Pontifical hostility, Pius V. has the distinguished notoriety of assailing this illustrious female, who was shedding more lustre on her throne than most of her male predecessors, since the days of Alfred, had imparted to it, with the combined mischiefs of personal conspiracy, of interior rebellion, and of external invasion. In his Bull of excommunication against Elizabeth, he says, "We declare her, out of the fulness of our Apostolic power, to be a heretic and a favourer

of heretics: we, moreover, declare her to be deprived of her pretended title of the kingdom aforesaid, and of all dominion, dignity, and privilege whatsoever; and also the nobility, subjects, and people of the said kingdom, and all which have in any sort sworn unto her, to be for ever absolved from every such oath, and all manner of duty, of dominion, allegiance, and obedience. We also command and interdict all and every the noblemen, subjects, and people aforesaid, that they presume not to obey her, or her monitions, mandates, and laws; and those who shall do the contrary we do likewise anathematize."

In answer to the letters of the conspirators to depose Elizabeth, the Pope exhorts them to "persevere in the work, not doubting but that God would grant them assistance; and that if they should die in asserting the Catholic faith, and the authority of the See of Rome, it were better for them, with the advantage of a glorious death, to purchase eternal life, than, by ignominiously living with the loss of their souls, shamefully obey the will of an ungovernable woman." Pii V. Epist. Apost. p. 290.) Thus does the genius and spirit of Popery militate against the independence and security of temporal governments. To such an extent was the Pope's rage carried, that he was ready to aid in person, to spend the whole revenue of the See Apostolic, and to sell the chalices and crosses of the Church, and even his very clothes, to procure the Queen's destruction. In fact, no Pope ever showed more painfully what the Papacy could resolve, and would attempt to perpetrate; nor the danger which such implacable and persevering animosity could effect, even in the period of its abated and suspected, though still politically supported, power.

Having adopted the opinion, that heretics, however virtuous, estimable, pious, learned, or intelligent, were detestable and pernicious reptiles, and were to be crushed as such for the common good, and that all ideas were heresies, and all persons heretics whom any Pope pronounced such; and having interwoven this deranged sentiment with his whole mind and feelings, he acted upon it with inflexible energy, and to the full stretch of his vast and indefinite influence and powers; he burned men of talent in his own dominions, and devoted him-



self, with a persevering combination of prejudice and principle, to destroy all who did not think as he and the final decrees of Trent commanded that men should think on the doctrines and practice of the Papal Church.

Five great objects occupied his strong and active mind: to reform his corrupted court and city, his most laudable purpose; to repress and weaken the Turkish power, a patriotic object, because the aggressions of its arrogant fanaticism were perilous; to destroy the Huguenots in France, and Elizabeth in England; and to subvert the Protestant Reformation, and annihilate its adherents in every part of Europe. He succeeded to a great degree in all these schemes but the two last.

In the spring of 1569, the Pope sent his troops, under Sforza, into France, to punish, by every infliction of severity, the heretics and their leaders. That the Prince of Condé, the chief of the heretical army, had been killed at the battle of Jarnac, is the subject of his thanksgivings to Heaven; and he exhorts Charles IX. to profit by his victory, so as utterly to *root out* the remains of these enemies. He tells the King, that he *can appease Heaven ONLY* by the severest punishment of such wretches; and that if he does not destroy them, he will perish by the divine vengeance. The same topics, with the most unqualified and most unshrinking mercilessness, he urged to Catherine de Medicis, the King's mother: he insists upon her not sparing for any reasons these enemies of Heaven;\* they must be massacred, they must be exterminated; he dares even to add, with all the insanity of his self-deluding bigotry, that he prays for it every day.

With an infatuation that would almost be incredible, if his own words were not before us, he asserts in the too willing ear of the Cardinal Lorraine, and desires him to convince the

\* On April 13, 1569, Pius wrote to Catherine to treat the rebels with a just severity. "By this you will give a memorable example to prevent others from defiling themselves with such an abominable iniquity. It is necessary that you take care that these wicked wretches suffer their just punishment!" That a POPE should thus insist on a WOMAN's being so mercilessly cruel, would have seemed to be a misconception of female nature, if he had not been writing to Catherine de Medicis.

King, that His Majesty cannot *satisfy his Redeemer* without this inexorability to all who should petition him in their behalf; a combination of ideas so incongruous, that it drives us into the supposition that the New Testament was a book which, if not unknown to Pius V., had, at least, been either unread or wholly forgotten by him, amid the more pleasing duties of his beloved Inquisition. Yet how natural were such sentiments to the sainted head of an institution, which existed solely on such principles! how congenial to a system which interprets the Scriptures by its convenient traditions, and not the traditions by the unalterable, and therefore less expedient, Scriptures!

No human sympathies seem to have reigned in this Pontiff's soul: he entreated the French sovereign not to listen to the claims either of blood or of friendship, and repeated his solicitation that His Majesty would not forgive those who should petition for his mercy on behalf of an heretic. "Sin not by indulgence," was the lesson; and to diminish any necessity for doing so, he sent to Charles all the cavalry and infantry which he could provide, and regretted that his treasury did not enable him to do more; he inveighed against the time-honoured and long respected Admiral of France, de Coligny, as the most execrable of men, and doubted if he were a human being, because the ablest supporter of the Huguenot cause; and he also disclosed the great, the horrible principle, on which he urged his incentives and vituperations: this was, that other Catholic Princes would be guided and stimulated by the example of Charles IX. to act in the same manner towards the heretics in their dominions. Thus the spirit and aims of Pius V. extended to the gigantic effect of exterminating, as soon as possible, all the Protestants in Europe.

To state of any man, that he is the advocate or author of murder, is to ascribe to him such a lamentable exemplification of human depravity, in its most revolting sense, that the mind dislikes, on any evidence, to express, and even to conceive, the imputation: and yet the preceding facts press the judgment towards that conclusion; nor is their effect abated, when we observe the directions and wishes of Pius V. as to the

French General de Assier. The Pope's conduct, on his capture, seems to furnish an additional illustration of what is possible in men of the highest station, when mercy, pity, charity, forgiveness, and benevolence are superseded by a misconception of sacerdotal duty; which, separating itself from the moral obligations of life, and extinguishing all human sympathies, seeks to acquire a supposed merit by its unsocial and desolating intolerance. Wonderful perversion of a religion, whose benevolence is, above all others, adapted to make mankind an affectionate family of gentle and generous brothers! strange contradiction to its clearest and most indissoluble precepts!

He published a severe edict against loose and abandoned women, whose numbers and impudence had so increased, that they occupied the best portion of the Roman city. The chief men opposing him, he threatened to remove his court from the city if they persisted. He at last allowed them an obscure corner in the city, and appointed two or three churches for their especial use.

Pius was carried off by an attack of the stone in 1572, when he was about sixty-eight years of age; and it is said of him, that, when dying, he exclaimed, (and if he did so, he felt as a man who had done what he had done ought to have felt, when he reviewed all the actions of his Pontifical life,) "When I was in a low condition, I had some hopes of salvation; after I had been advanced to be a Cardinal, I greatly doubted it; but since I came to be Pope, I have no hope at all." It is a remarkable fact, that this implacable exterminator of heretics should be himself an object of attack and depreciation in the Spanish Inquisition. Llorente says, the death of Pius has been attributed to the agents of the Inquisition.

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## CHAPTER XXIV.

GREGORY XIII. MASSACRE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S  
DAY.

ON occasion of Gregory's election to the Popedom, he was addressed with freedom and faithfulness by Nicholas Clemanges, on the subject of investitures. The right of nomination to vacant Sees, had originally been the exclusive prerogative of the monarch, but in process of time had been gradually usurped by the Pope, on the pretence that their revenues might be enjoyed by the crown. The Popes, in turn, made the nomination the means of furthering their own power and influence. It was on this subject, that Clemanges thus writes: "The burthen with which you are charged," says the honest counsellor, "is so much the heavier, because you and your predecessors have taken upon yourselves many charges from which the Lord and the Church had exempted you. In making yourselves the masters of elections to benefices, of collations, dispensations, and all which was formerly done by the Archdeacons and Patrons, you have infinitely increased the account which you will have to render. True it is, that if you acquit yourself faithfully of your administration, there is no empire upon earth, which can approach the glory of your servitude: but if you make your dignity subservient to your profit, to pomp, to haughtiness; if you love better to command than to serve, you will, in fact, become the vilest of all slaves; you will be the servant, not of the servants of God, but of cupidity, of avarice, of pride, of ambition, which are the servants of the devil;—in a word, of as many masters as there are vices."

"'Tis incredible," says Paul, the Englishman, "how many mischiefs the sale of offices has done to the Church. From thence have proceeded worthless, ignorant, scandalous, am-

bitious, and violent Bishops; the other benefices have been disposed of to all manner of persons indifferently, to pimps, cooks, grooms, and boys. Benefices are as publicly sold at Rome, as goods in a market.\* So much for the Pope's signature, so much for a dispensation, or leave to hold benefices that are incompatible, so much for an induct, so much for taking off an excommunication, so much for such and such indulgences."

One might believe, that the Sovereign Pontiffs had drawn to themselves these elections and collations, for the sake of giving better pastors to the Church; nothing, however, less than that: since that time, they chose not those who were most capable of instructing and of ruling the Church, but those who were able to pay best. Thus the Church found itself filled with ignorant and incapable pastors. This was not sufficient: they took away from patrons the privilege of presenting persons to a benefice, and the liberty of conferring it; threatening these patrons with anathema, if, by an audacious rashness, they undertook to establish any person whatever in a benefice, whilst there was any one to whom the Pope had granted by his authority an expectance for it. Graces expectative came in then from all sides. "They do not," says Cle-

\* Does not this charge apply, with increased severity, to the Reformed Church of England and Ireland? Are not the souls of men, and the responsibilities of the Christian Ministry, daily put up to sale with as much indifference, except as to the price, as that with which pigs, cattle, old chairs and tables are usually sold? Parliamentary interest—the favour of a kept mistress—a loan to the patron—good fellowship at a horse race—conviviality over the bottle, are the general merits on which the *hunters after preferment* ground their respective claims to advancement in their professional career. Unwearied diligence, Christian fidelity, apostolic zeal, long services, indefatigable labours, and blameless lives, may commend the servant of God and of the Church to the consciences of his hearers, and to the approbation of the **GREAT SHEPHERD AND BISHOP**; with worldly patrons these qualifications have but little or no weight. For the truth of this assertion, evidence is to be found in the condition and experience of those laborious and faithful men, who labour in season and out of season, through a long and wearisome life, as stipendiary Curates, with incomes much less than those of journeymen mechanics.

The whole of the text under review, will be found not unworthy the perusal and consideration of Churchmen in the present day.

mangis, "take pastors from the schools or universities, but from the plough, and from the most vile professions. We see those who know no more of Latin than of Arabic, some, even, who scarcely know how to read or distinguish A from B. There is nothing more unworthy than to see a Pope, or any other Ecclesiastic in an eminent station, not knowing even how to read the Holy Scriptures readily, and never touching it, but by the cover, although in their installation they are obliged to swear, that they have the knowledge of it. If by chance they meet with any pastor of another character, he is exposed to the raillery and slanders of others, and found only fit to be put in a cloister; thus, the study of the Holy Word passes for folly; those who make profession of it are the sport of all the world, and, particularly, of the Popes, who prefer their traditions to the commandments of God. The glorious and holy employ of preaching, which was formerly a privilege particular to Bishops, is so villified, that they are ashamed to exercise it."

Ignorance was yet the least evil: one may judge of the morals of the people, thus ill brought up; our author draws a frightful picture of it. There was nothing but lewdness, debaucheries, gamblings, and quarrels. The utmost contempt was the necessary consequence of such conduct.

The excessive liberality of Gregory to his natural son Jacob, gave great offence to his Cardinals, by whom he was perpetually opposed. This circumstance, added to the reluctance with which Protestant States admitted his Reformation of the Calendar, which he sought to impose on their adoption, by the force of Papal authority, was matter of great regret and vexation to Gregory.

It was during Gregory's Pontificate, that the horrible massacre of Saint Bartholomew's Day took place; by which the French Protestants were nearly annihilated, and the Roman Church covered with eternal infamy; the Duke de Guise, in conjunction with the Duke de Anjou, having plotted the destruction of the heads of the Protestant party, with a view to deter the King from co-operating with the Prince of Orange, in favor of the Protestants of the Netherlands. Being induced

to believe that a conspiracy was formed against him by Admiral de Coligny, and his friends, Charles IX., the then King of France, consented, with a view to his own preservation, that the Admiral and his friends should be anticipated and destroyed. The King was evidently imposed upon; and the foul deed was urged upon him by false and deceiving communications; and with circumstances and great personal alarm, which frightened his mind into acquiescence. The Romish party continued their machinations to inflame and pervert the King's mind, till a reluctant consent was obtained for a more extended perpetration of the projected butchery; this consent, reluctantly given, would not have been extorted, but by the artful persuasions of the Queen Mother; to whom, as one of the family of Guise, the atrocious contrivance of the means by which it was to be attempted is due. On the occasion of the marriage of Henry of Navarre, with the sister of Charles IX. on Monday the 18th of August, 1572, the whole body of the Protestant nobility and gentry were enticed to Paris. The mother of Henry, Jean D' Albert, one of the wisest and most pious women that ever adorned the high station to which she was called, had been led to consent to this alliance, from a belief that it would lay the foundation of solid peace and spiritual prosperity in the kingdom; but she was the dupe of Catherine de Medicis, and she died, it is supposed, by poison, two years before the general massacre. Several days, after the marriage, were spent in all sorts of festivities, in which Admiral de Coligny, the champion of the reformed cause, as he was really the head of the party, was courteously treated by the King, who promised to satisfy the Admiral and his friends, on some matters of importance, for which the royal favour was solicited.

The Admiral had, about this time, received an anonymous warning, to take care of himself, accompanied by an intimation, that the King's mind was sought to be inflamed against the reformed party, by rumours of their hostility to him. On the Thursday after the marriage, as the Admiral returned from a Council, which had been held at the Louvre, accompanied by several friends, he was fired at from the house where the

preceptors of the Duke of Guise resided, and was struck by two balls; search was immediately made for the assassin, who, mounting a Spanish horse, and galloping it at full speed, escaped all pursuit. The King and the Queen Mother visited the wounded Admiral, and declared their intention to detect and punish the criminal, expressing how much pain this unfortunate event had given them. On Saturday the twenty-third, the surgeons declared the Admiral to be out of danger. Up to this period, it is probable, Charles acted in good faith. The plan to destroy Coligny having failed, the guilty but disappointed plotters resolved on a more dreadful and extended slaughter: more must be done both to give them safety, and to fulfil their object. It is probable, that the attempt on the Admiral's life, excited indignant, perhaps vindictive, feelings in the minds of the Protestants against the contrivers of the assassination, and that these were loudly expressed. Advantage was now taken of these murmurs, to impress on the mind of Charles, fears for his own safety, which it was represented could only be secured by the destruction of the Protestants.

The minds of the populace were now exasperated against the Protestants, by the contrivance of the Duke de Guise; and, by the command of the King, they were all given up to slaughter; the proclamation for their destruction was made on the night of Saint Bartholomew, and at two of the clock in the morning, the work of death began.

The safety of the King of France being secured by a strong additional guard of Swiss and French soldiery, Charles ordered the noble families of Navarre to quit the castle without delay. These unfortunates, anticipating the fate that was awaiting them, entreated the King to defer his commands till the next day; but in vain. They were compelled to go out, one after another, by a little door, before which were found a number of armed men, who assassinated the Navarrese as they came out.

Henry of Navarre, the brother in law of Charles, the Prince de Conde, his uncle, and the King's Physician were alone exempted from destruction. Henry and de Conde were hurried from their beds, and dragged, not without danger, before



the King, who, when they refused to be converted, as the phrase ran, broke out into an excessive rage, declaring, that he would be obliged, as the Vicegerent of God, to have recourse to severity; that they must teach others to submit, by their acquiescence; and that it became them no longer to hold themselves in opposition to the Holy Mother. They were in consequence obliged to attend mass; the massacre was continued without cessation for three days, till the King became aghast at his own act, and his conscience was so haunted with images of murder and death, that he directed it should cease.

Amongst the victims of this destruction, the Admiral de Coligny was the most distinguished. Equally illustrious for his rank, his attachment to the Protestant cause, and his remarkable piety, he was the first noblemen of very high rank in France, who had dared to declare himself on the side of the Protestants; and this he did, not from political motives, but from the deepest attachment to the principles which they professed. Every morning and evening, he is recorded, to have assembled his servants for domestic worship; to have attended a daily public service, and at every repast to have implored, with singing and prayer, the blessing of God. He was zealous in the establishment of schools, and the extension of religion. He was indifferent to the honours of the world, and left his estate rather the worse than the better for his use of it. When wounded by the bullet fired at him from the house of the Duc de Guise, during a most painful operation for the extraction of the bullet, he said to those around him, "These wounds, my friends, are God's blessings, the smart of them is indeed troublesome, but I acknowledge the will of my God in the dispensation; and I bless his Divine Majesty, who hath been pleased thus to honour me, and to lay any pain upon me for his holy name's sake. Let us entreat of him that we may persevere to the end." To his minister Merlin, who seems to have resided in his family, he said, "If God had visited me according to my deserts, he must have dealt far more severely with me. But blessed be his name, who hath dealt so mildly and lovingly with his unworthy servant." He added, "Truly from my

heart I freely forgive both him that shot at me, and those also who incited him to the deed. For I know assuredly, that it is not in their power to hurt me, no, though they should kill me; for my death is a most certain means of attaining eternal life." The prayer which he is recorded to have offered up, has much of the force and simplicity which mark the compositions of the early days of the Church. "O Lord God, my heavenly Father, have compassion upon me for thy tender mercies sake; remember not against me my former iniquities, neither charge me with the sins of my youth. If thou, Lord, shouldst mark what I have done amiss, or should impute the violations of thy covenant, what flesh could stand before thee, or endure thine anger? As for me, disclaiming all false gods and worship, I call only upon thee, the eternal Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and worship thee alone for his sake. I beseech thee to bestow thy Holy Spirit upon me, and to give me the grace of patience. I trust only in thy mercy; all my hope and confidence is placed on that alone: whether thou pleasest to inflict present death upon me, or to spare my life to do thee further service, behold, O Lord, I am prepared to submit to thy will; nothing doubting, but if thou pleasest to inflict death upon me, thou wilt presently admit me into thine everlasting kingdom! But if, Lord, thou sufferest me to live longer here, grant, O my Heavenly Father, that I may spend all the remainder of my days in advancing thy glory, and in observing and adhering to thy true religion." On the fatal night of this laborious massacre, his house was assaulted by the Duke of Guise in person. The staircases were so strongly barricadoed, that, for a long time, his enemies could not enter. In the mean time, his minister, Merlin, prayed with the whole family. When he had concluded, a servant coming in, said, "Sir, God calleth us to himself; they have broken into the house, and we have no power to resist." His answer was very memorable, and it was observed that, while he uttered it, his countenance was no more troubled than if no danger were at hand. "I perceive," said he, "what is doing; I was never afraid of death, and I am ready to undergo it patiently, for which I have long since prepared my mind. I bless God that

I shall die in the Lord, through whose grace I am elected to a hope of everlasting life. I now need no longer any help of man. You, therefore, my friends, get ye hence as soon as ye can, lest ye be involved in my calamity, and your wives hereafter say that I was the cause of your destruction. The presence of God, to whose goodness I commend the soul, which will presently leave my body, is abundantly sufficient for me." His enemies soon reached him; and to one, who asked whether he was the admiral, he had only time to answer, "I am, and you, young man, should respect my hoary head!" when he was stabbed with a sword in his left side, and by a poinard in his right. The Swiss were then ordered to throw him out of the window, but he struggled so much when they attempted to take him, that it was not until a French soldier put the muzzle of his arquebuss to his mouth, and shot him, that his spirit was dismissed to its eternal rest. By command of the Duke of Guise, and of the Duke d'Aumale, the body was thrown out of the window, that they might be satisfied that he was dead before they left the place.

The persons who were with him fled in different directions. Some climbed up the tiles of the house, and others in other ways escaped. Of these, Merlin, the chaplain, was one; he sheltered himself in a hay-loft, and it is recorded in the acts of the next synod after this event, in which he was moderator, that he was supported for three days by means of a hen, which deposited an egg daily near his place of refuge. Seventy thousand Protestants, according to Sully, fell in this awful massacre; and that it did not extend to the extermination of every individual, was, under Divine Providence, to be attributed to the caution of some who left the capital in time, the intrepidity of others, and the generous feeling of many of the Catholic officers, who refused to obey commands which they said belonged rather to executioners than to soldiers. That this disgraceful act must not be considered as that of individuals, all history attests. It was a deed of blood by the Romanists, for it was sanctioned by the principles which they then acknowledged. It was approved by the Pope whom they obeyed. It was executed by the mandate of his Priests. It

was celebrated as an act of religion at Rome, and justified as a holy deed by the partisans of Rome. The Pope fired the cannon at St. Angelo, and had bonfires all over Rome, in joyful celebration of it. He did more. He was so delighted, that he had three pictures painted of it, to be placed in the Vatican, in the apartment called La Salle des Rois, which precedes the Sixtine Chapel. The first represents the shooting of the Admiral; the second, the general massacre; the third, Charles avowing the deed before the Parliament of Paris. A medal was also struck, by order of Gregory, on the occasion. On one side the name and portrait of the Pope; on the other is an exterminating angel, with a sword in one hand and a cross in the other, and men and women flying before him.

The solemn thanksgiving made at Rome, was accompanied with a Jubilee to all Christendom; one of the reasons for which, was, that they should thank God for the slaughter of the enemies of the Church, lately executed in France. The Pope sent Cardinal Ursin his Legate to France, to thank the King for so great service done to the Church; and to desire him to go on, and extirpate heresy, root and branch, and not to spoil what he had done, by intermingling lenity. As the Legate passed through France to Paris, he gave a plenary absolution to all who had been actors in the massacre. In the oration of Muretus, pronounced in the presence of the Supreme Pontiff, Gregory XIII., that memorable night, in which this accursed slaughter was committed, is blessed. The King,\* the Queen,

\* The King expired on Whitsunday, 1574, having survived this event less than two years: his mind was visibly affected; he became more blood thirsty than ever, and would have revived the horrors of this guilty day, but for the interference of the Queen Mother. He lived, however, to feel remorse. He died in the most severe pains, and bathed in his own blood. "I seem," said he, to his Surgeon Pare, "I seem every moment, whether waking or sleeping, as if the murdered bodies presented themselves before me, with hideous faces, and covered with blood." The Duke de Guise, and his brother the Cardinal, were murdered, December 14th, 1588, by order of the Duke D'Anjou, then Henry III., the Duke exclaiming, most truly, after his first fury was exhausted on receiving the mortal stabs, with his dying voice, "My sins have deserved this." Henry himself perished some time afterwards, under the dagger of Jacques Clement. Never was the moral retribution more signally exacted, than on these exalted culprits.

and the Royal Family, are extolled for their share in the transaction, and the Pope is styled "most blessed Father," for going in procession to return thanks to God and St. Louis for the welcome news, when brought to him.\*

Gregory was not less urgent than his predecessors for the destruction of Elizabeth, Queen of England, and the subversion of her government. He granted an Indulgence, addressed to the Prelates, Nobles, Clergy, and people of Ireland, dated 25th of February, 1577, inciting them to rebellion against the Queen, and granting to all who should aid in this pious and godlike work a full pardon, and remission of all sins, in the same form as those going to war against the Turks. The warfare excited by this Bull produced much bloodshed, devastation, and misery upon the people, but failed to wrest this interesting and self-afflicting island from the English crown.

\* Gaspard de Sanlx de Tavennes, Marshal of France, and one of the Counsellors of Catherine de Medicis, being upon his death-bed, made a general confession of the sins of his life; after which, his Confessor saying to him, with an air of astonishment, "Why you speak not a word of St. Bartholomew." "I look upon that," replied the Marshal, "as a meritorious action, which ought to atone for all the sins I have ever committed." (Sully's Mem. vol. i. p. 2.) Eleven years afterwards, we find the Parisian Clergy celebrating the day and the occasion; for on the 25th of August, 1588, William Cecil wrote to his grandfather, Lord Burghley, from Paris; "Upon St. Bartholomew's Day we had here *solemn processions*, and other tokens of triumph and joy, in remembrance of the slaughter committed this time eleven years past. But I doubt they will not so triumph at the day of judgment."

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## CHAPTER XXV.

## SIXTUS V.—CLEMENT VIII.

AFTER the death of Gregory, the Papal Chair was filled by Sixtus V., otherwise named Felix Peretti de Montalto, who acceded to the tiara in April, 1585, and who, in pride, magnificence, intrepidity, strength of mind, and in other great virtues and vices, equalled any of his predecessors. From the success of his own management, by affecting to be feeble and unwell, the other Cardinals, who would not agree on any other at the moment, nominated him as one whose honour would be of short duration. This impression, when securely fixed in his dignity, he removed at once, by a loud and strong intonation, with all the vigour of health, of his thanksgiving hymn. He was the most able, aspiring, and warlike of the Roman Pontiffs, since Gregory VII. and Lucius II. He was a most complete politician, and had a thorough knowledge of the interests of his chair, and chose the most effectual methods for promoting them. He sought the augmentation of his territory by the attempted conquest of Naples; the attaching still more closely to himself those Princes who still remained faithful to the Papacy; and by the reduction of their power, now grown dangerous to the Pope himself. These various objects were pursued by him with impenetrable dissimulation, and various success.

It had been usual, for the sake of acquiring popularity, on the election of a new Pope, to set the imprisoned criminals at liberty: but the first act of Sixtus was to order four persons to be hanged, on whom were found, a few days before, prohibited weapons. This system of rigour he pursued with the most inexorable severity, never, in a single instance, pardoning a criminal.

In 1587, Sixtus V. published a Bull against the King of

Navarre and the Prince of Conde, the two powerful supporters of the reformed interest in France, than which no production more odious or arrogant was ever issued by the Roman Church. After a pompous encomium on the Papal power, "*infinitely superior* to all earthly potentates, and which tumbles from their thrones the masters of the world, to plunge them into the gulf as ministers of Lucifer," his Holiness solemnly anathematizes the King of Navarre and the Prince of Conde, "the impious and bastard issue of the illustrious house of Bourbon, heretics, relapsed enemies of God and religion," declaring them and their posterity deprived of all their rights, unworthy of ever possessing any principality whatever, and absolving all their subjects from their oath of allegiance.

Instead of censuring the assassination of Henry, by the Dominican Clement, Sixtus commended and approved of the action in a long, public, and official oration. That a Monk had slain a King in the midst of his people he considered "*Rarum, insigne, et memorabile facinus. Facinus non sine Dei Optimi Maximi particulari providentia et Dispositione*:" and then he goes on to say, that it was not only done with the special providence and appointment of God, but by the suggestions and assistance of his Holy Spirit; a greater work than Judith slaying Holofernes. He, however, refused to renew the excommunication of Henry IV., saying, that he would pray for his conversion, and that no Prince was more deserving a crown. He had also a high veneration for the character of Queen Elizabeth, of England, on account of the prudence and vigour of her government, though her determined enemy on account of her enmity to the Catholic religion. In 1588, Philip equipped his invincible armada, and Sixtus V. seconded the enterprise with all his spiritual authority. He renewed the Bulls of Pius and Gregory against Elizabeth; he excommunicated her, dethroned her, absolved her subjects from their allegiance, published a crusade against her, and granted plenary indulgences to all those who should contribute to its success. With a view to a more organized system of ecclesiastical jurisprudence, and for the better civil government of the Papal dominions, Sixtus appointed fifteen separate commissions, to

each of which was confided the administration of some one important branch of public affairs. He is said to have been a decided enemy to the Jesuits, and was indignant that they should assume a name that implied that their founder was the meek and benevolent Jesus. This celebrated Pontiff died in August, 1590, having reigned five years and four months. The vigour of his administration, his improvement of the City of Rome, the vast treasures he accumulated, his foundation of the Vatican Library, and his fixing the number of Cardinals at seventy, have all contributed to gain Sixtus immortal reputation, and have thrown a splendour about his name, and given him rank among the distinguished characters of his age. Though we cannot look upon him as the model of a great Prince, and much less of an irreproachable Prelate, yet his life and administration were distinguished by many acts of a noble and useful nature, particularly in his encouragement of Sacred Literature.

In 1590, Sixtus published an edition of the Latin Vulgate, which, by a Bull, he commanded should be received every where, and in all cases, for *true, legitimate, authentic, and undoubted*; and that all future editions should be made conformable to this, not the least syllable being changed, added, or omitted, on pain of the greater excommunication. Notwithstanding all his infallibility, Clement VIII. not very long after, revoked the decree of Sixtus, *suppressed* his edition, and published another of his own, in which he made more than 2000 corrections.

These fatal variances between editions, alike promulgated by Pontiffs claiming infallibility, have been exposed by various Protestant divines, and particularly by our learned countryman, Thomas James, in his "*Bellum Papale, sive Concordia Discors Sixti V.*" Londini, 1600, 4to., in which he has pointed out very numerous additions, omissions, contradictions, and other differences between the editions of the two infallible Pontiffs, Sixtus V. and Clement VIII. To guard his predecessor from the charge of fallibility, Clement bought up the Sixtine copies; so that but two copies are known to be extant.

On the 15th of September, 1590, John Baptist Castigna



was elected to the vacant Chair, and assumed the name of Urban VIII.; his death, within a fortnight after his elevation, occasioning another vacancy, Cardinal Sfrontati, a Milanese, and Bishop of Cremona, was chosen his successor, under the name of Gregory XIV. His character and temper were respectable, but he possessed neither energy of mind, nor solidity of learning. He took a decided part against Henry IV. in favour of Philip II., but his death on the 15th of October, 1591, terminated his political machinations. John Anthony Facchinetti succeeded to the vacant dignity on the 29th of October, under the name of Innocent IX. but his death on the day following his election, leaves history nothing to record concerning him.

In 1592, the Papal Chair was filled by Hippolito Aldobrandini, who was chosen January 30th, under the name of Clement VIII. The famous controversy between the Jesuits and Dominicans, concerning grace, free-will, and predestination, which was likely to produce fatal divisions in the Church, arose in the time of this Pope. This controversy was carried on with great asperity and violence till the year 1594, when Clement imposed silence on the contending parties, promising to examine the points in dispute himself. Clement yielded to none of his predecessors in zeal for the extension of the Romish Faith, and in his hatred of the Protestant Religion: in this spirit he prepared the form of an oath to be taken by the Bishops and Archbishops, in which are laid down all the principles of the despotism and intolerance of Rome. "*Jura, honores, privilegia, et auctoritatem S. Rom. Ecclesiæ, domini nostri Papæ et successorum, conservare, defendere, augere, promovere curabo Hæreticos, schismaticos, et rebelles eidem domino nostro, pro posse persequar.*"

In 1600, Clement issued a Bull to prevent James I. from ascending the throne of England, declaring that "when it should happen that that miserable woman (Queen Elizabeth) should die, they (her subjects) should admit none to the Crown, though ever so nearly allied to it by blood, except they would not only tolerate the Catholic Religion, but promote it to the utmost of their power, and would, according to ancient custom, undertake upon oath to perform the same."

He was succeeded, April 1, in the year 1605, by Leo XI. of the House of Medicis, who died a few weeks after his election, and thus left the Papal Chair open to Camillo Borghese, who was elected the same year, and by whom it was filled under the denomination of Paul V.

Among the later Pontiffs are to be found men of various talents and conduct; but they were all men of exemplary characters, when compared with the greater part of those who governed the Church before the Reformation. The number of adversaries, both foreign and domestic, that arose to set limits to the despotism of Rome, and to call in question the authority and jurisdiction of its Pontiff, rendered the College of Cardinals and the Roman nobility more cautious and circumspect in the choice of a spiritual ruler; nor did they almost dare, in these critical circumstances of opposition and danger, to entrust such an important dignity to an ecclesiastic whose bare-faced licentiousness, frontless arrogance, or inconsiderate youth, might render him peculiarly obnoxious to reproach, and furnish thereby new matter of censure to their adversaries. It is also worthy of observation, that from this period of opposition, occasioned by the ministry of the Reformers, the Roman Pontiffs have never pretended to such an exclusive authority as they had formerly usurped; nor could they, indeed, make good such pretensions, were they so extravagant as to avow them. They claim, therefore, no longer a power of deciding, by their single authority, matters of the highest moment and importance; but, for the most part, pronounce according to the sentiments that prevail in the College of Cardinals, and in the different congregations, which are entrusted with their respective parts in the government of the Church. Nor do they any more venture to foment divisions in sovereign states, to arm subjects against their rulers, or to level the thunder of their excommunications at the heads of princes. All such proceedings, which were formerly so frequent at the Court of Rome, have been prudently suspended since the gradual decline of that ignorance and superstition which prescribed a blind obedience to the Pontiff, and the new degrees of power and authority that monarchs and other civil rulers have gained by the

revolutions that have shaken the Papal throne. The halcyon days were now over, in which the Papal Clergy excited, with impunity, seditious tumults in the state, intermeddled openly in the transactions of government, struck terror into the hearts of sovereign and subjects by the thunder of their anathemas, and imposing burthensome contributions on the credulous multitude, filled their coffers by notorious acts of tyranny and oppression. The Pope himself, though still honoured with the same pompous titles and denominations, found, nevertheless, frequently, by a mortifying and painful experience, that these titles had lost a considerable part of their former signification, and that the energy of these denominations diminished from day to day. For now almost all the Princes and States of Europe had adopted that important maxim which had been formerly peculiar to the French nation; that the power of the Roman Pontiff is entirely confined to matters of a religious and spiritual nature, and cannot, under any pretext whatsoever, extend to civil transactions or worldly affairs. In the schools, indeed, and Colleges of Roman Catholic countries, and in the writings of the Romish Priests and Doctors, the majesty of the Pope was still exalted in the most emphatic terms, and his prerogatives displayed with all imaginable pomp. Nay, even in the Courts of Sovereign Princes, very flattering terms and high-sounding phrases were sometimes used, to express the dignity and authority of the head of the Church. But as it happens in other cases, that men's actions are frequently very different from their language, so was this observation particularly verified in the case of Rome's Holy Father. He was extolled in words, by those who despised him most in reality; and when any dispute arose between him and the Princes of his Communion, the latter respected his authority no farther than they found expedient for their own purposes, and measured the extent of his prerogatives and jurisdiction, not by the slavish adulation of the Colleges and the Jesuits, but by a regard to their own interests and independence. This the Roman Pontiffs learned, by disagreeable experience, as often as they endeavoured during this century, to resume their former pretensions, to interpose their authority in civil affairs, and

encroach upon the jurisdiction of sovereign states. The conduct of Paul V. and the consequences that followed it, furnish a striking example that abundantly verifies this observation. This haughty and arrogant Pontiff laid the Republic of Venice under an interdict in the year 1606. The reasons alleged for this insolent proceeding were the prosecution of two Ecclesiastics for capital crimes; as also two wise edicts, one of which prohibited the erection of any more religious edifices in the Venetian territories, without the knowledge and consent of the Senate; and the other, the alienation of any lay possessions or estates in favour of the Clergy, without the express approbation of the Republic. The Venetian Senate received this Papal insult with dignity, and conducted themselves under it with becoming resolution and fortitude. Their first step was to prevent their Clergy from executing the interdict, by an act prohibiting that cessation of public worship, and that suspension of the sacraments, which the Pope had commanded in this imperious mandate. Their next step was equally vigorous; for they banished from their territories the Jesuits and Capuchin Friars, who obeyed the orders of the Pope, in opposition to their express commands. In the meantime all things tended towards a rupture, and Paul V. was gathering together his forces in order to make war upon the Venetians, when Henry IV. King of France, interposed as mediator, and concluded a peace between the contending parties, on conditions not very honourable to the ambitious Pontiff; for the Venetians could not be persuaded to repeal the edicts and resolutions they had issued out against the Court of Rome upon this occasion, nor to recall the Jesuits from their exile. It is remarkable, that at the time of this rupture, the Senate of Venice entertained serious thoughts of a total separation from the Church of Rome, in which the ambassadors of England and Holland did all that was in their power to confirm them.

Paul died at Rome in January, 1621, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, after a Pontificate of nearly sixteen years. He was of a haughty and violent spirit, jealous to excess of his authority, and insatiably furious in the execution of his vengeance upon such as encroached on his pretended prerogative. Gre-

gory XV. who was raised to the Pontificate in the year 1621, seemed to be of a milder disposition than his predecessor though he was not less defective in equity and clemency towards those who had separated themselves from the Church of Rome.

The peace of Augsburg having secured the Protestants from persecution, the Court of Rome began to devise measures for extending its influence over heathen nations, hoping by this means to make some amends for the losses it had sustained in Europe. With this view, the Pope established in 1622, a new society, composed chiefly of Cardinals, which was termed "The Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith." To defray every expense, a vast endowment, successively increased, furnished the most ample means; the missionaries were educated, conveyed, and supplied with every necessary. Seminaries were established for such heathen converts as should be sent to Europe from the different nations: and books were printed in all languages for the use of the missions. To this famous establishment was added another, in 1627, under the denomination of "The College for the Propagation of the Faith," which was entirely appropriated to the education of missionaries; and in 1663, France copied the example of Rome, and formed an establishment for the same purposes. "Regiments of Friars, black, white, and grey, were ready for embarkation, however distant the voyage, or perilous the service:" a striking contrast to the comparative indolence of Protestants.

The Jesuits were the first and most successful in these expeditions. The new world, and the Asiatic regions were the chief field of their labours. They penetrated into the uncultivated recesses of America, visited the untried regions of Siam, Tonquin, and Cochin China: nay, they entered the vast empire of China itself, insinuated themselves into the confidence of that suspicious people, and numbered millions among their converts. In Japan, they extended their conquests, in a manner almost incredible; and in India, they boasted that on the coasts of Malabar, a thousand converts were baptized in one year by a single missionary. These

flattering prospects were however soon overcast ; and it is to be feared, that the change must principally be attributed to the ill conduct of the Jesuits themselves ; who not only lived in pomp and luxury, but officiously interfered with the civil affairs of the governments, that had so liberally patronized them.

The other Orders impeach the purity of the motives, by which the Jesuits are influenced, impute their zeal to ambitious purposes, and accuse them of subjecting their converts to their own order, with a view to make merchandize of them : whilst it is evident, that the religion which all these missionaries taught, was as far removed from the simplicity and purity of the Gospel, as was the Paganism from which the converts were drawn.

While the Court of Rome was thus zealously employed in the propagation of Popery among the Pagan nations, they were not inattentive to the great object of bringing, either by force or fraud, within the pale of the Church, those Protestant communities, which had so lately abandoned her communion.

Gregory's frequent canonizations are cited as proofs of his covetous spirit. He was of an indolent and inactive mind, leaving, too often, to very unskilful and inexperienced hands, the administration of his affairs. During his Pontificate, the Portuguese liberated themselves from the yoke of Spain, and in the year 1640, placed John, Duke of Braganza, the lawful heir on the throne. As soon as the new Monarch of Portugal thought himself established in his authority, he dispatched an embassy to the Pope, requesting his sanction and confirmation ; but his Holiness was deaf to the entreaties of the suppliant monarch, and could never be induced to acknowledge him as the lawful sovereign.

Urban VIII., who previously bore the name of Maffei Barberini, and who, by his interest and political intrigue in the Conclave, succeeded Gregory in the Papal Throne in the year 1623, was a man of letters, an eloquent writer, an elegant poet, and a generous and munificent patron of learning and genius ; but nothing can equal the rigour and barbarity with which he treated all who bore the name of Protestants.

In 1624, a military force was sent into the Valleys of Piedmont, for the avowed purpose of destroying the Protestant Churches; to counteract this attempt, Charles I. of England, sent two embassies to the Court of Turin to intercede for them, and to procure a suspension of the attempts to molest them.

The Bull, *In cœna Domini*, written in 1610, by Paul V., and promulgated by Urban in 1627, contains the whole elixir of ultramontane orthodoxy, in which are deposited the principles which make, and always will make, the secret basis of the conduct of the Holy See. It excommunicates heretics, schismatics, &c., all who dare to appeal to a future Council against the Bulls and Briefs of the Pope; all Princes who dare to levy taxes without the permission of the Pope, those who make treaties of alliance with Turks or Heretics; and those who complain to the Secular Judges against the wrongs and injuries received from the Court of Rome.

In 1643, he issued a Bull of deposition against Charles I. in Ireland; where, two years before, not fewer than 200,000 Protestants were massacred, and to those who had joined the rebellion of 1641, the same Holy Pontiff granted a *Plenary Indulgence*. In this dreadful massacre, as in that of France, on St. Bartholomew's Day, no ties of nature or of friendship could prevent the Papists from embruining their hands in the blood of their nearest Protestant relations.

His great nepotism created uneasy and dissatisfied feelings throughout his States; every situation of rank, dignity, or profit, being accumulated by the members of his own family. He first conferred the title of Eminence on the Cardinals, whose number he increased to seventy-four. Among certain abuses which he corrected, he abolished the order of Female Jesuits, and many Festivals and Saint's Days. He died July 29, 1644, at a very advanced age; and may be considered as a good and equitable ruler, when compared with Innocent X. of the family of Pamphili, who succeeded him on the 15th of September, in the year 1664. This unworthy Pontiff, to a profound ignorance, joined the most shameful indolence, and the most notorious profligacy: for he abandoned his person, his dignity, the administration of his temporal affairs, and the government of

the Church, to the disposal of Donna Olympia, his brother's widow, a woman of corrupt morals, insatiable avarice, and boundless ambition.

Among the numerous disputes that took place subsequent to the Reformation in the Church of Rome, which is so much celebrated for its *unity*, we shall notice only that between the Jesuits and the Jansenists. The founder of the latter Order, was Cornelius Jansenius, originally Professor of Divinity in the University of Louvain, and afterwards Bishop of Ypres in Flanders. This learned Prelate became early attached to the writings of Augustine, and had imbibed all that Father's opinions, concerning the doctrine of man's natural depravity, and the necessity of divine grace, which he ably supported in a work entitled "Augustinus." This book made a great noise in the Romish Church, and containing doctrines the very opposite to those which were taught by the Jesuits, these staunch supporters of error and corruption, bent their whole force to procure its condemnation. Nor was this difficult to obtain. The Head of the Church was as great an enemy to the doctrines of grace, as any of the Jesuits, and, by several Bulls, therefore, the works of Jansenius were declared to be heretical, and their abettors subjected to punishment. The doctrines of Jansenius, however, met with many defenders, both in France and in the Netherlands, and had the honor to rank among their supporters, James Boonen, Archbishop of Malmco, Libertus Fromond, Anthony Arnauld, Blaise Pascal, Peter Nicholas, Pasquier de Quesnel, and many other eminent individuals. No sooner, therefore, were the Papal Bulls issued, condemning the sentiments of Jansenius, than the most violent controversies, especially in France, were produced. By terror, rather than by argument, the Jesuits carried their point, and armed the magistracy to suppress those whom the Pope had condemned. Persecution generally produces opposition, and notwithstanding the sufferings to which they were subjected, the disciples of Jansenius still continued to increase; the utmost vigilance of the Church could not exclude the Jansenist doctrines from penetrating the convents themselves, and when no suffering could induce the monks and nuns to renounce the



prescribed opinions, the very buildings in which they had resided, were razed to the ground.

Dying January 10, 1655, Innocent was succeeded in the Papal Chair by Fabio Chigi, who was elected April 8th following, and assumed the title of Alexander VIII. He had been the Papal Nuncio at the treaty of Munster, where he greatly distinguished himself, which, together with his external conduct and strict sanctity of life, induced the most favourable expectations of his conduct as Pope. These were, however, sadly disappointed. Though less odious than his predecessor, he nevertheless possessed all the pernicious qualities that are necessary to constitute a true Pope, and without which the Papal jurisdiction and majesty cannot be maintained. The other parts of his character are drawn much to his disadvantage, by several ingenuous and eminent writers of the Romish Church, who represent him as a man of a mean genius, unequal to great or difficult undertakings, full of craft and dissimulation, and chargeable with the most shameful levity, and the greatest inconsistency of sentiment and conduct.

Lewis XIV. of France, who was on other accounts displeased with Alexander, highly resented an insult offered to his Ambassador, the Duke of Crequi, and his lady, by some Corsicans of the Pope's guard, at the instigation of the populace. Lewis demanded satisfaction for this insult offered to his representative; and, on the Pope's delaying to answer this demand, actually ordered his troops to file off for Italy, and to besiege the arrogant Pontiff in his capital. The latter, terrified by these warlike preparations, implored the clemency of the incensed monarch, who granted his pardon and absolution to the humbled Pontiff, and concluded a peace with him at Pisa, in the year 1664, upon the most inglorious and mortifying conditions. These conditions were, that the Pope should send his nephew to Paris, in the character of a suppliant for pardon; that he should brand the Corsican Guards with perpetual infamy, and break them by a public edict; and should erect a pyramid at Rome, with an inscription destined to preserve the memory of this audacious instance of Papal insolence, and of the exemplary manner in which it was chastised and humbled

by the French monarch. It is, however, to be observed, that in this contest, Lewis did not chastise Alexander, considered in his ghostly character as head of the Church; but as a temporal Prince, violating the law of nations; yet he showed on other occasions, that, when properly provoked, he was as much disposed to humble Papal as princely ambition; and that he feared the Head of the Church, as little as the temporal ruler of the ecclesiastical state. Alexander issued some Bulls on the Jansenist Controversy, and one in reference to the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary. He died May 22, 1667, and was succeeded on the 20th of June, by Julio Rospigliosi, as Clement IX., who was naturally a lover of peace, and delighted in magnificence. His dislike of nepotism, his effectual mediation between the Jansenists and Jesuits, and the general mildness of his government towards his ecclesiastical states, do him singular honour. He died the 9th of December, 1668.

After a long struggle in the Conclave, which lasted nearly five months, between four or five contending parties, with all the usual duplicity, chicanery, &c. Cardinal CEmil Altieri was chosen on the 29th of April, 1669, in the eightieth year of his age, and immediately took the name of Clement X. He was of a mild and pacific temper.

Benedict Odeschalchi, known in the list of Pontiffs, by the denomination of Innocent XI. and who, on the death of Clement, was raised to that high dignity, December 10th, in the year 1677, had been a soldier in his younger years. He began his high career, with abolishing abuses, and suppressing many gross superstitions then prevailing in the Church of Rome. This respectable Pontiff acquired a very high and permanent reputation, by the austerity of his morals, his uncommon courage and inflexible resolution, his dislike of the grosser superstitions that reigned in the Romish Church, his attempts to reform the manners of the Clergy, and to abolish a number of those fictions and frauds that dishonour their ministry; and also by other solid and eminent virtues. He was much traduced by the Jesuits, whose unholy zeal he sought to moderate. He had a contest with the French King, about the right

of disposing of benefices and church lands, claimed by that monarch, and confirmed to him by an assembly of the Clergy, which nearly terminated in a separation of the Gallican Church from the Roman communion.

The subject of this controversy was a right, called in France, the regale, by which the French King, upon the death of a Bishop, laid claim to the revenues and fruits of his See, and discharged also several parts of the episcopal function, until a new Bishop was elected. Lewis was desirous that all the Churches in his dominions should be subject to the regale.

Innocent pretended, on the contrary, that this claim could not be granted with such universality; nor would he consent to any augmentation of the prerogatives of this nature, that had formerly been enjoyed by the Kings of France. Thus the claims of the prince, and the remonstrances of the Pontiff, both urged with warmth and perseverance, formed a sharp and violent contest, which was carried on, on both sides, with spirit and resolution. The Pontiff sent forth his Bulls and mandates. The monarch opposed their execution by the terror of the penal laws, and the authority of severe edicts against all who dared to treat them with the smallest regard. When the Pontiff refused to confirm the Bishops that were nominated by the monarch, the latter took care to have them consecrated and inducted into their respective Sees; and thus, in some measure, declared to the world, that the Gallican Church could govern itself without the intervention of the Roman Pontiff.

Innocent XI. who was a man of a high spirit, and inflexibly obstinate in his purposes, did not lose courage at a view of these resolute and vigorous proceedings; but threatened the monarch with the divine vengeance, issued out Bull after Bull, and did every thing in his power to convince his adversaries, that the vigour and intrepidity which formerly distinguished the lordly rulers of the Romish Church, were not yet totally extinguished. This obstinacy, however, only served to add fuel to the indignation and resentment of Lewis. And accordingly that monarch summoned the famous assembly of Bishops, which met at Paris in the year 1682, and drew up the four

celebrated propositions, declaring the power of the Pope to be merely spiritual, and inferior to that of a general Council, and maintaining the inviolability of the rules, institutions and observances of the Gallican Church.

These four propositions were to the following purpose :

1st. That neither Saint Peter, nor his successors, have received from God, any power to interfere, directly or indirectly, in what concerns the temporal interest of princes and sovereign states : that Kings and Princes cannot be deposed by ecclesiastical authority, nor their subjects freed from the sacred obligation of fidelity and allegiance, by the power of the Church, or the Bulls of the Roman Pontiff.

2nd. That the decrees of the Council of Constance, which maintained the authority of general councils, as superior to that of the Pope in spiritual matters, are approved and adopted by the Gallican Church.

3rd. That the rules, customs, institutions, and observances, which have been received in the Gallican Church, are to be preserved inviolable.

4th. That the decisions of the Pope, in points of faith, are not infallible, unless they be attended with the consent of the Church.

Another contest arose, some time after the one now mentioned, between those two Princes, whose mutual jealousy and dislike of each other contributed much to inflame their divisions. This new dispute broke out in the year 1687, when Innocent XI. wisely resolved to suppress the franchises, and the right of asylum that had formerly been enjoyed by the ambassadors residing at Rome, and which had, on many occasions, proved a sanctuary for rapine, violence, and injustice, by procuring impunity for the most heinous malefactors.

The Marquis de Lavardin refused, in the name of the French King, to submit to this new regulation ; and Lewis took all the violent methods that pride and resentment could invent, to oblige the Pontiff to restore to his ambassador the immunities above mentioned. Innocent, on the other hand, persisted in his purpose, opposed the King's demands in the most open and intrepid manner, and could not be wrought

upon, by any consideration, to yield, even in appearance, to his ambitious adversary. His death, however, put an end to this long debate, which had proved really detrimental to both of the contending parties. His successors being men of a softer and more complaisant disposition, were less averse to the concessions that were necessary to bring about a reconciliation, and to the measures that were adapted to remove the chief causes of these unseemly contests. They were not, indeed, so far unmindful of the Papal dignity, and of the interests of Rome, as to patch up an agreement on inglorious terms. On the one hand, the right of asylum was suppressed with the King's consent; on the other, the right of the regale was settled with certain modifications.

Innocent died August 12, 1689; having presided over the Roman See twelve years and a half. By his example and administration, it appeared that the wisest institutions, and the most judicious establishments, will be unable to stand firm, for any considerable time, against the insidious stratagems, or declared opposition of a deluded multitude, who are corrupted by the prevalence of licentious morals, whose imaginations are impregnated with superstitious fictions and fables, whose credulity is abused by pious frauds, and whose minds are nourished, or rather amused, with vain rites and senseless ceremonies.

During this Pontificate, Lewis XIV. was induced to revoke the Edict of Nantz. On occasion of this disgraceful act, Bossuet breaks out as follows; "Let me indulge the movement of my heart, and dwell on the piety of our monarch: let me address this new Constantine, this new Theodosius, this other Maxian, this other Charlemagne, in the words with which the six hundred and thirty fathers expressed their sentiments to the Emperor at the Council of Chalcedon:—'You have strengthened the faith, you have exterminated the heretics; it is the most meritorious act of your reign. King of Heaven! preserve the King of the earth! It is the ardent desire of the Church, it is the ardent desire of the assembly, of her pastors, and of her Bishops.'" Whether this measure was suggested by the Pope, does not appear; but it is cer-

tain, that on occasion of this great event, his heart bounded with joy, as is evidenced in his letter to Louis XIV., on occasion of that iniquitous transaction.

“Innocent XI. to our dearest son in Christ, Louis XIV., the most Christian King of France: Our dearest son in Christ,

“Since above all the rest of those illustrious proofs which do abundantly declare the natural inbred piety of your majesty, that noble zeal (and worthy the most Christian King) is most conspicuous, with which being ardently inflamed, you have wholly abrogated all those constitutions that were favourable to the heretics of your Kingdom; and by most wise decrees set forth, have excellently provided for the propagation of the orthodox belief, as our beloved son, and your ambassador with us, the noble Duke de Estrées, hath declared to us; we thought it was incumbent on us most largely to commend that excellent piety of yours by the remarkable and lasting testimonies of these our letters, and to congratulate your Majesty on that accession of immortal commendation, which you have added to all your other great exploits by so-illustrious an act of this kind. The Catholic Church shall most assuredly record in her sacred annals a work of such devotion towards her, and celebrate your name in never dying praises. But, above all, you may most deservedly promise to yourself an ample retribution from the divine goodness for this most-excellent undertaking; and may rest assured, that we shall never cease to pour forth our most earnest prayers to that divine goodness for this intent and purpose. The rest you shall understand from our venerable brother, Angelo, Archbishop of Genoa. In the mean time, we greet you most kindly with our apostolical benediction. Given at Rome the 13th of November, in the tenth year of our Pontificate.”

The Pontiff had discernment enough to see, that Louis had done more by this repeal, for strengthening of the Catholic, and ruining the Protestant, Churches in France, than had been heretofore done by all the battles which had been fought, and all the books which had been written; he, therefore, chaunts the praises of that “wise decree,” that “great exploit,” that “illustrious act,” and that “excellent piety,” and feels

ould have no liberty to leave the kingdom, but must be sent to the galleys. There was hardly any kind of deceit, and justice, and troubles, in which these worthy ministers of Christ were not involved, and yet through rich mercy very few perished; the far greater number of them escaped, either into England, Holland, Germany, Switzerland, &c. and some are now settled in New England. Such were the sufferings of hundreds of learned, pious, and useful ministers of Jesus Christ, and such were the character and spirit of their persecutors. Now accurately is the conduct of such men portrayed by the scripture. "They sleep not except they have done mischief, and their sleep is taken away, unless they cause some to fall; nor do they eat the bread of wickedness, and drink the wine of violence." Let us for a moment follow the champions of the Catholic Church in their disgraceful career of injustice and cruelty. They seized and confiscated the property of the churches and consistories, pulled down the former, and even forbade men to pray in their own houses, or teach their own children any of the principles or duties of the Christian religion; some of them they took by force, and placed them in convents to make them Catholics; and if the little heretics were obstinate, they were punished to such extremity, that they died in consequence. Dragoons were quartered in their houses, who lived upon the unfortunate victims of their cruelty, and made free with such parts of their property as they pleased. They levied taxes and duties upon them, to build mass-houses and purchase priestly garments, &c. Their sick were refused admission to the hospitals, nor would they allow Protestant women any assistance in child-birth but from Roman Catholic midwives. In their dying moments, their apartments were forcibly entered by Romish Priests, who, in the most indecorous manner, worried them to change their religion; and if they refused, they denied them Christian burial, drew them through the streets on hurdles in the most ignominious manner, and cast them into the open fields, to be devoured by ravenous creatures. Some they sent to perish in prisons and dungeons, or to work in the galleys. In addition to all this, they forced some, by the most dreadful violence, to abjure their religion;

abundantly delighted with its success. "Rase, rase it, even to the foundation thereof," had long been the cry of the enemies of the Reformed Church in France; but the period is hastening when it shall be said, "The time to favour her, yea, the set time, is come."

The revocation of the Edict of Nantz, and the expulsion of the reformed, were instantly followed by such a complicated scene of inhuman persecutions and cruelties as would scarcely be credited, if the accounts were not supported by the clearest and strongest testimony. The first part of the storm fell upon the ministers who hastened to depart within the time limited; and the cruel and iniquitous measures adopted by their enemies to thwart and harass them, displayed a refinement in barbarity which has fixed an eternal disgrace upon the perpetrators. They were not permitted to dispose of their estates, nor to carry away any of their moveables or effects; their enemies disputed them their very books and private papers, upon this pretence, that they must prove and justify that their books and papers did not belong to the consistories then in being. Moreover, they would not give them leave to take along with them either father or mother, brother or sister, or any of their relations or kindred, though they were many of them infirm, diseased, and impoverished, and could not in any way subsist without their help; they even went so far as to deny them their own children, if they were above seven years old, yea, and some that were under that age, and were as yet hanging upon their mother's breast; they refused them nurses for their newborn infants, although their own mothers could not suckle them. In some frontier places, they stopped and imprisoned them upon trifling and ridiculous pretences; they must immediately prove that they were really the same persons which their certificates mentioned; they would know, whether there were no criminal process or informations out against them; they must presently justify, that they carried away nothing with them that belonged to any one of their respective Churches. Sometimes having thus amused and detained them, they would tell them the space of fifteen days, allotted them by the edict for their departure, was now expired, and that, therefore, they



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and having succeeded, they made them affirm, and even sign the most solemn declarations, that no constraint had been used, but that they had done it freely and of their own accord. "As for the rest of the Protestants," says Quick, "whom the violence of persecution and the cruel usages they endured had necessitated to abandon their estates, families, relations, and native country, it is hardly to be imagined to what dangers they were exposed. Never were orders more rigorous and severe, nor more strictly executed, than those given out against them; they doubled the guards at every post, in all cities, towns, highways, fords and ferries; they covered the country with soldiers; they armed the very peasants, that they might stop the reformed in their travel, or kill them upon the very spot; they forbad all officers of the customs to suffer any goods, moveables, merchandizes, or effects of theirs to pass out of the kingdom; they forgot nothing that might hinder the flight of these poor persecuted creatures, insomuch that they interrupted all commerce with neighbouring nations. By this means they quickly filled all the prisons in the kingdom: for the terror of the dragoons, the horror of seeing their consciences forced and their children taken away from them, and to be educated in anti-christian superstition and damnable idolatry, and of living for the future in a land where there was neither justice nor humanity for them, obliged every one to think with himself, and consult with others in whom they could confide, how to get out of France; and so they could but escape without polluting their consciences, many thousands of them were ready to, and did actually, leave their worldly possessions all behind them.

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## CHAPTER XXVI.

## JANSENIST CONTROVERSY.

INNOCENT XII., a man of uncommon merit and eminent talents, whose name was Pignatelli, a native of Venice, and Archbishop of Naples, and who now succeeded to the Papal Chair, was unwearied in his endeavours to reform the corrupt manners of the Clergy, though he found that the entire accomplishment of the Herculean task, was a consummation which all his prudence and resolution were unable to effect. He was anxiously devoted to the interests of the poor, and the wealth which many of his predecessors had been accustomed to accumulate, or to bestow on worthless relatives, he devoted to the public benefit, employing it in the erection of hospitals, and other useful institutions, and particularly in the improvement of the ports of Anzio and Nettuno. Innocent died on the 27th of September, in the year 1700, at the advanced age of eighty-five, after presiding over the church about nine years.

During this Pontificate, a controversy arose in the bosom of the Catholic Church in France, respecting the doctrines of Jansenism, which were propagated by Madame de la Mothe Guyon, a woman remarkable for the benevolence of her heart, the regularity of her manners, but of warm feelings, and vivid imagination.

Her religious sentiments made a great noise in the year 1697, and gave offence to many. Hence, after they had been accurately and attentively examined by several men of eminent piety and learning, they were at length pronounced erroneous and unsound, and, in the year 1697, were professedly confuted by the celebrated Bossuet. This gave rise to a controversy of still greater moment, between the Prelate last mentioned, and Francis Salignac de Fenelon, Archbishop of Cambray, whose christian virtue and superior genius were beheld with

veneration in all the countries of Europe. Of these two disputants, who, in point of eloquence, were avowedly without either superiors or equals in France, the latter seemed disposed to favour the religious system of Madame Guyon. For when Bossuet desired his approbation of the book he had composed, in answer to the sentiments of that female mystic, Fenelon not only refused it, but openly declared that this pious woman had been treated with great partiality and injustice, and that the censures of her adversary were unmerited and groundless. Nor did the warm imagination of this amiable Prelate permit him to stop here, where the dictates of prudence ought to have set bounds to his zeal; for, in the year 1697, he published a book in which he adopted several of the tenets of Madame Guyon, and more especially that favourite doctrine of the mystics, which teaches that the love of the Supreme Being must be pure and disinterested; that is, exempt from all views of interest and all hope of reward. This doctrine Fenelon explained with a pathetic eloquence, and confirmed it by the authority of many of the most eminent and pious among the Romish doctors. Bossuet, whose leading passion was ambition, and who beheld with anxiety the rising fame and eminent talents of Fenelon as an obstacle to his glory, was highly exasperated by this opposition, and left no method unemployed which artifice and jealousy could suggest, to mortify a rival whom illustrious merit had rendered so formidable. For this purpose he threw himself at the feet of Lewis XIV., implored the succours of the Roman Pontiff, and by his importunities and stratagems obtained, at length, the condemnation of Fenelon's book. This condemnation was pronounced in the year 1699, by Innocent XII., who, in a public brief, declared that book unsound in general, and branded with more peculiar marks of disapprobation twenty-three propositions, specified by the congregation that had been appointed to examine it. The book, however, was condemned alone, without any mention of the author; and the conduct of Fenelon on this occasion was very remarkable. He declared publicly his entire acquiescence in the sentence by which his book had been condemned, and not only read that sentence to his people in the pulpit at Cam-

bray, but exhorted them to respect and obey the Papal decree. This step was differently interpreted by different persons, according to their notions of this great man, or their respective ways of thinking. Some considered it as an instance of true magnanimity, as the mark of a meek and gentle spirit, that preferred the peace of the Church to every private view of interest or glory. Others, less charitable, looked upon this submissive conduct as ignoble and pusillanimous; as denoting manifestly a want of integrity, inasmuch as it supposed that the Prelate in question condemned with his lips what in his heart he believed to be true. One thing, indeed, seems generally agreed on, and that is, Fenelon persisted, to the end of his days, in the sentiments which, in obedience to the order of the Pope, he retracted and condemned in a public manner.

The corruptions that had been complained of in preceding ages, both in the higher and inferior orders of the Romish Clergy, were rather increased than diminished at the close of this century, as the most impartial writers of that communion candidly confess. The Bishops were rarely indebted for their elevation, to their eminent learning or superior merit. The intercession of potent patrons, services rendered to men in power, connections of blood, and simoniacal practices, were, generally speaking, the steps to preferment; and what was still more deplorable, their promotion was sometimes owing to their vices. Their lives were such, as might be expected from persons who had risen in the Church, by such unseemly means; for had they been obliged by their profession, to give public examples of those vices which the holy laws of the Gospel so solemnly and expressly condemn, instead of exhibiting patterns of sanctity and virtue to their flock, they could not have conducted themselves otherwise than they did. Some indeed there were, who, sensible of the obligations of their profession, displayed a truly Christian zeal, in administering useful instruction, and exhibiting pious examples to their flock, and exerting their utmost vigour and activity, in opposing the vices of the sacred order in particular, and the licentiousness of the times in general. But these rare patrons of virtue and piety, were either ruined by the resentment and

stratagems of their envious and exasperated brethren, or were left in obscurity, without that encouragement and support that were requisite to enable them to execute effectually their pious and laudable purposes.

The same treatment fell to the lot of those among the lower order of the Clergy, who endeavoured to maintain the cause of truth and virtue. But the number of sufferers in this noble cause, was small, compared with the multitude of corrupt ecclesiastics, who were carried away with the torrent, instead of opposing it, and whose lives were spent in scenes of pleasure, or in the anxiety and toils of avarice and ambition. While we acknowledge, that, among the Bishops and inferior Clergy, there were several exceptions from that general prevalence of immorality and licentiousness, with which the sacred order was chargeable; it is also incumbent upon us to do justice to the merit of some of the Roman Pontiffs, in this century, who used their most zealous endeavours to reform the rules of external decency, in their conduct and conversation.

The Romish Church, from whose prolific womb all the various forms of superstition issued forth in an amazing abundance, saw several new monastic establishments arise within its borders during this century. The greatest part of them we shall pass over in silence, and confine ourselves to the mention of those which have obtained some degree of fame, or at least made a certain noise in the world. We begin with the Fathers of the Oratory of the Holy Jesus, a famous order, instituted by Cardinal Berutte, a man of genius and talents, who displayed his abilities with such success in the service both of State and Church, that he was generally looked upon as equally qualified for shining in these very different spheres. This order, which, both in the nature of its rules, and in the design of its establishment, seems to be in direct opposition to that of the Jesuits, was founded in the year 1613, had produced a considerable number of persons eminent for their piety, learning, and eloquence, and still maintains its reputation in this respect. The priests who enter into this society, are not obliged to renounce their property or possessions, but only to refuse all ecclesiastical cures or offices to which any

fixed revenues or honours are annexed, as long as they continue members of this fraternity, from which they are, however, at liberty to retire whenever they think proper. While they continue in the Order, they are bound to perform, with the greatest fidelity and accuracy, all the priestly functions, and to turn the whole bent of their zeal and industry to one single point—the preparing and qualifying themselves and others, for discharging them daily with greater perfection and more abundant fruits. After these Fathers, the next place is due to the Priests of the Missions, an order founded by Vincent de Paul, (who has obtained, not long ago, the honors of saintship,) and formed into a regular congregation, in the year 1632, by Pope Urban VIII. The rule prescribed to this society, by its founder, lays its members under the three following obligations: First, to purify themselves, and to aspire daily to higher degrees of sanctity and perfection, by prayer, meditation, the perusal of pious books, and other devout exercises: Secondly, to employ eight months of the year in the villages, and, in general, among the country people, in order to instruct them in the principles of religion, form them to the practice of piety and virtue, accommodate their differences, and administer consolation and relief to the sick and indigent: Thirdly, to inspect and govern the seminaries, in which persons designed for Holy Orders receive their education, and to instruct the candidates for the ministry, in the sciences that relate to their respective vocations.

Clement XI. originally John Francis Albani, was chosen on the 3rd of November, 1700, to succeed Innocent in the Pontifical office, which, after much importunity, he consented to undertake. He surpassed in learning, the whole College of Cardinals, and was inferior to none of the preceding Pontiffs in sagacity, lenity, and a desire, at least, to govern well: but he wanted vigour and firmness, when opposing the inveterate corruptions and superstitious observances of the Church over which he presided. He made a good beginning of administration. He redressed some grievances, discountenanced vice and criminality of every kind, performed acts of beneficence, gave an example of devotional regularity, and filled vacant offices

upon, by any consideration, to yield, even in appearance, to his ambitious adversary. His death, however, put an end to this long debate, which had proved really detrimental to both of the contending parties. His successors being men of a softer and more complaisant disposition, were less averse to the concessions that were necessary to bring about a reconciliation, and to the measures that were adapted to remove the chief causes of these unseemly contests. They were not, indeed, so far unmindful of the Papal dignity, and of the interests of Rome, as to patch up an agreement on inglorious terms. On the one hand, the right of asylum was suppressed with the King's consent; on the other, the right of the regale was settled with certain modifications.

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Her religious sentiments made a great noise in the year 1697, and gave offence to many. Hence, after they had been accurately and attentively examined by several men of eminent piety and learning, they were at length pronounced erroneous and unsound, and, in the year 1697, were professedly confuted by the celebrated Bossuet. This gave rise to a controversy of still greater moment, between the Prelate last mentioned, and Francis Salignac de Fenelon, Archbishop of Cambray, whose christian virtue and superior genius were beheld with

and having succeeded, they made them affirm, and even sign the most solemn declarations, that no constraint had been used, but that they had done it freely and of their own accord. "As for the rest of the Protestants," says Quick, "whom the violence of persecution and the cruel usages they endured had necessitated to abandon their estates, families, relations, and native country, it is hardly to be imagined to what dangers they were exposed. Never were orders more rigorous and severe, nor more strictly executed, than those given out against them; they doubled the guards at every post, in all cities, towns, highways, fords and ferries; they covered the country with soldiers; they armed the very peasants, that they might stop the reformed in their travel, or kill them upon the very spot; they forbid all officers of the customs to suffer any goods, moveables, merchandizes, or effects of theirs to pass out of the kingdom; they forgot nothing that might hinder the flight of these poor persecuted creatures, insomuch that they interrupted all commerce with neighbouring nations. By this means they quickly filled all the prisons in the kingdom: for the terror of the dragoons, the horror of seeing their consciences forced and their children taken away from them, and to be educated in anti-christian superstition and damnable idolatry, and of living for the future in a land where there was neither justice nor humanity for them, obliged every one to think with himself, and consult with others in whom they could confide, how to get out of France; and so they could but escape without polluting their consciences, many thousands of them were ready to, and did actually, leave their worldly possessions all behind them.

Pope Benedict XIV. intended to have canonized Innocent, from which he was dissuaded by the interference of the Jesuits, assisted by the influence of the Court of France.

On the 6th of October, 1689, Peter Ottobini, a native of Venice, was elevated to the Pontifical Chair, under the title of Alexander VIII., who condemned the four Propositions of the French Clergy, which were as strenuously maintained by the French government. He also condemned the opinions of the Jesuits, concerning philosophic sin. He died Feb. 1, 1691.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

## JANSENIST CONTROVERSY.

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veneration in all the countries of Europe. Of these two disputants, who, in point of eloquence, were avowedly without either superiors or equals in France, the latter seemed disposed to favour the religious system of Madame Guyon. For when Bossuet desired his approbation of the book he had composed, in answer to the sentiments of that female mystic, Fenelon not only refused it, but openly declared that this pious woman had been treated with great partiality and injustice, and that the censures of her adversary were unmerited and groundless. Nor did the warm imagination of this amiable Prelate permit him to stop here, where the dictates of prudence ought to have set bounds to his zeal; for, in the year 1697, he published a book in which he adopted several of the tenets of Madame Guyon, and more especially that favourite doctrine of the mystics, which teaches that the love of the Supreme Being must be pure and disinterested; that is, exempt from all views of interest and all hope of reward. This doctrine Fenelon explained with a pathetic eloquence, and confirmed it by the authority of many of the most eminent and pious among the Romish doctors. Bossuet, whose leading passion was ambition, and who beheld with anxiety the rising fame and eminent talents of Fenelon as an obstacle to his glory, was highly exasperated by this opposition, and left no method unemployed which artifice and jealousy could suggest, to mortify a rival whom illustrious merit had rendered so formidable. For this purpose he threw himself at the feet of Lewis XIV., implored the succours of the Roman Pontiff, and by his importunities and stratagems obtained, at length, the condemnation of Fenelon's book. This condemnation was pronounced in the year 1699, by Innocent XII., who, in a public brief, declared that book unsound in general, and branded with more peculiar marks of disapprobation twenty-three propositions, specified by the congregation that had been appointed to examine it. The book, however, was condemned alone, without any mention of the author; and the conduct of Fenelon on this occasion was very remarkable. He declared publicly his entire acquiescence in the sentence by which his book had been condemned, and not only read that sentence to his people in the pulpit at Cam-



bray, but exhorted them to respect and obey the Papal decree. This step was differently interpreted by different persons, according to their notions of this great man, or their respective ways of thinking. Some considered it as an instance of true magnanimity, as the mark of a meek and gentle spirit, that preferred the peace of the Church to every private view of interest or glory. Others, less charitable, looked upon this submissive conduct as ignoble and pusillanimous; as denoting manifestly a want of integrity, inasmuch as it supposed that the Prelate in question condemned with his lips what in his heart he believed to be true. One thing, indeed, seems generally agreed on, and that is, Fenelon persisted, to the end of his days, in the sentiments which, in obedience to the order of the Pope, he retracted and condemned in a public manner.

The corruptions that had been complained of in preceding ages, both in the higher and inferior orders of the Romish Clergy, were rather increased than diminished at the close of this century, as the most impartial writers of that communion candidly confess. The Bishops were rarely indebted for their elevation, to their eminent learning or superior merit. The intercession of potent patrons, services rendered to men in power, connections of blood, and simoniacal practices, were, generally speaking, the steps to preferment; and what was still more deplorable, their promotion was sometimes owing to their vices. Their lives were such, as might be expected from persons who had risen in the Church, by such unseemly means; for had they been obliged by their profession, to give public examples of those vices which the holy laws of the Gospel so solemnly and expressly condemn, instead of exhibiting patterns of sanctity and virtue to their flock, they could not have conducted themselves otherwise than they did. Some indeed there were, who, sensible of the obligations of their profession, displayed a truly Christian zeal, in administering useful instruction, and exhibiting pious examples to their flock, and exerting their utmost vigour and activity, in opposing the vices of the sacred order in particular, and the licentiousness of the times in general. But these rare patrons of virtue and piety, were either ruined by the resentment and

stratagems of their envious and exasperated brethren, or were left in obscurity, without that encouragement and support that were requisite to enable them to execute effectually their pious and laudable purposes.

The same treatment fell to the lot of those among the lower order of the Clergy, who endeavoured to maintain the cause of truth and virtue. But the number of sufferers in this noble cause, was small, compared with the multitude of corrupt ecclesiastics, who were carried away with the torrent, instead of opposing it, and whose lives were spent in scenes of pleasure, or in the anxiety and toils of avarice and ambition. While we acknowledge, that, among the Bishops and inferior Clergy, there were several exceptions from that general prevalence of immorality and licentiousness, with which the sacred order was chargeable; it is also incumbent upon us to do justice to the merit of some of the Roman Pontiffs, in this century, who used their most zealous endeavours to reform the rules of external decency, in their conduct and conversation.

The Romish Church, from whose prolific womb all the various forms of superstition issued forth in an amazing abundance, saw several new monastic establishments arise within its borders during this century. The greatest part of them we shall pass over in silence, and confine ourselves to the mention of those which have obtained some degree of fame, or at least made a certain noise in the world. We begin with the Fathers of the Oratory of the Holy Jesus, a famous order, instituted by Cardinal Berutte, a man of genius and talents, who displayed his abilities with such success in the service both of State and Church, that he was generally looked upon as equally qualified for shining in these very different spheres. This order, which, both in the nature of its rules, and in the design of its establishment, seems to be in direct opposition to that of the Jesuits, was founded in the year 1613, had produced a considerable number of persons eminent for their piety, learning, and eloquence, and still maintains its reputation in this respect. The priests who enter into this society, are not obliged to renounce their property or possessions, but only to refuse all ecclesiastical cures or offices to which any

fixed revenues or honours are annexed, as long as they continue members of this fraternity, from which they are, however, at liberty to retire whenever they think proper. While they continue in the Order, they are bound to perform, with the greatest fidelity and accuracy, all the priestly functions, and to turn the whole bent of their zeal and industry to one single point—the preparing and qualifying themselves and others, for discharging them daily with greater perfection and more abundant fruits. After these Fathers, the next place is due to the Priests of the Missions, an order founded by Vincent de Paul, (who has obtained, not long ago, the honors of saintship,) and formed into a regular congregation, in the year 1632, by Pope Urban VIII. The rule prescribed to this society, by its founder, lays its members under the three following obligations: First, to purify themselves, and to aspire daily to higher degrees of sanctity and perfection, by prayer, meditation, the perusal of pious books, and other devout exercises: Secondly, to employ eight months of the year in the villages, and, in general, among the country people, in order to instruct them in the principles of religion, form them to the practice of piety and virtue, accommodate their differences, and administer consolation and relief to the sick and indigent: Thirdly, to inspect and govern the seminaries, in which persons designed for Holy Orders receive their education, and to instruct the candidates for the ministry, in the sciences that relate to their respective vocations.

Clement XI. originally John Francis Albani, was chosen on the 3rd of November, 1700, to succeed Innocent in the Pontifical office, which, after much importunity, he consented to undertake. He surpassed in learning, the whole College of Cardinals, and was inferior to none of the preceding Pontiffs in sagacity, lenity, and a desire, at least, to govern well: but he wanted vigour and firmness, when opposing the inveterate corruptions and superstitious observances of the Church over which he presided. He made a good beginning of administration. He redressed some grievances, discountenanced vice and criminality of every kind, performed acts of beneficence, gave an example of devotional regularity, and filled vacant offices

and preferments, with men of merit. He then directed his attention to politics, and testified a desire of preventing a war between the King of France and the Emperor, on the subject of the Spanish succession. He endeavoured to prevent the erection of Prussia into a kingdom. Unable, however, to check the rage of war, the Pope soothed his anxiety, and gratified his religious zeal, by promoting the diffusion of the Catholic faith. He even expressed a wish, that he could visit the remotest parts of the globe for that pious and salutary purpose, and affected to lament his inability of accomplishing his desire. Contracting his views, he contented himself with sending Legates into various regions, particularly into Persia, India, and China, to support and extend the interests of Christianity: but the success of these Heralds of the Gospel, did not correspond with the wishes of the religious world.

A famous question arose in this century, which made a great noise in the Romish Church, relating to the conduct of the Jesuits in China, and their manner of promoting the cause of the Gospel, by permitting the new converts to observe the religious rites and customs of their ancestors. This question was decided to the disadvantage of the Missionaries in the year 1704, by Clement, who, by a solemn edict, forbade the Chinese Christians to practise the religious rites of their ancestors, and more especially those that are celebrated by the Chinese in honour of their deceased parents, and of their great lawgiver Confucius. This severe edict was, nevertheless, considerably mitigated in the year 1715, in order to appease, no doubt, the resentment of the Jesuits, whom it exasperated in the highest degree. For the Pontiff allowed his Missionaries to make use of the word TIEN, to express the divine nature, with the addition of the word TCHU, to remove its ambiguity, and make it evident that it was not the Heaven, but the Lord of Heaven, that the Christian doctors worshipped; he also permitted the observance of those rites and ceremonies that had so highly offended the adversaries of the Jesuits, on condition that they should be considered merely as marks of respect to their parents, and as *tokens* of civil homage to their lawgivers, without being abused

to the purposes of superstition, or even being viewed in a religious light. In consequence of this second Papal edict, the Chinese converts to Christianity are allowed considerable liberties; among other things, they have in their houses tablets, on which the names of their ancestors, particularly of Confucius, are written in golden letters; they are allowed to light candles before these tablets, to make offerings to them of rich perfumes, victuals, fruit, and other delicacies; nay, to prostrate the body before them until the head touches the ground. The same ceremony of prostration is performed by the Chinese Christians at the tombs of their ancestors.

A revival of the contest between the Jansenists and the Jesuits had, for some time, conspired with politics and wars to disturb the tranquillity of Rome. For the more effectual repression of Jansenism, a new apostolical constitution was issued in the year 1705, condemning such errors, with menaces of Papal indignation. The Anti-Jansenist ordinance, as it commenced with the terms *Unigenitus Dei Filius*, was quickly known throughout Christendom by the appellation of the BULL UNIGENITUS.\* This Bull put an end to all hope of a reconciliation between the Church of Rome and the Protestants; as in most of those points which had occasioned the separation, it represented the doctrines of that Church in the

\* "The Bull *Unigenitus*," says that most learned Roman Catholic, Doctor O'Connor, was condemned by the Sorbonne, immediately after the death of Louis; and the Jesuit Le Tellier, the monarch's confessor, was banished to La Fleche, loaded with the public execration. The condemnation of the ninety-first proposition, *by its enforcing obedience to unjust censures, was felt to be repugnant to moral obligations*. The refusal of the Sacraments to those who would not subscribe the Bull, disturbed the tranquillity of private life, and caused an insurrection of the magistracy, so that those who persisted in the refusal were banished the kingdom. Benedict XIV., fearful of the storm which thickened every day, issued a Brief, declaring that, since he could not condemn the Bulls of his predecessors, the Bull should be registered, but those who rejected it ought to have the Sacraments at their own risk"

"This political middle course was called the Law of Silence, and caused the greatest scandal of all. The Parliaments, disgusted rather than edified by this political middle course in matters of religion, protested against it, and utterly suppressed the Bull, as repugnant to the liberties of the Gallican Church." Columbanus 6, xx.

very same light in which they had been regarded by the first Reformers. In this Bull, Quesnel's New Testament was condemned, an hundred and one propositions contained in it being pronounced heretical. This Bull, which is also known by the name of *The Constitution*, gave a favourable turn to the affairs of the Jesuits; but it was highly detrimental to the interests of the Romish Church, as many of the wiser members of that communion candidly acknowledge. For it not only confirmed the Protestants in their separation, by convincing them that the Church of Rome was resolved to adhere obstinately to its ancient superstitions and corruptions, but also offended many of the Roman Catholics, who had no particular attachment to the doctrines of Jansenius, and were only bent on the pursuit of truth and the advancement of piety. It must also be observed, that the controversy relating to Jansenism was much heated and augmented, instead of being mitigated or suspended, by this despotic and ill-judged edict.

The dissensions and tumults excited in France by this edict were violent in the highest degree. A considerable number of Bishops, and a large body composed of persons eminently distinguished by their piety and erudition, both among the clergy and laity, appealed from the Bull to a General Council. It was more particularly opposed by the Cardinal de Noailles, Archbishop of Paris, who, equally unmoved by the authority of the Pontiff, and by the resentment and indignation of Louis XIV., made a noble stand against the despotic proceedings of the Court of Rome. The issue of this famous contest was favourable to the Bull, which was at length rendered valid by the authority of the Parliament, and was registered among the laws of the State. This contributed, in some measure, to restore the public tranquillity, but it was far from diminishing the number of those who complained of the despotism of the Pontiff.

In 1712, when by virtue of the treaty of Alt-Radstadt certain places were to be surrendered to some Protestant Princes, Pope Clement XI., in a letter to the Emperor Charles VI., denounced the Protestants as "an execrable sect," and in the plenitude of his pretended supremacy, declared every thing,

which either was, or could be, construed or esteemed to be in any way obstructive of, or in the least degree prejudicial to, the Romish faith or worship, or to the authority, jurisdiction, or any rights of the Church whatsoever, "to be, and to have been, and perpetually to remain hereafter null, unjust, reprobated, void, and evacuated of all force from the beginning; and *that no person* is bound to the observance of them, although the same have been repeated, ratified, or secured by oath."

In this year Clement, having received legal satisfaction of the miracles alleged to have occurred a century and a half before, raised Pius V. to the rank of a Saint, in due form, and the 1st of May in every year was that appointed to be kept in honour of his memory. The prayers appropriated to him in the Roman Missal are, "Priest and Bishop! worker of miracles! O good shepherd of the people, pray for us to the Lord.

"O God, who didst vouchsafe to choose blessed Pius V., chief Bishop, to *crush the enemies* of the Church, and repair divine worship! grant that we may be defended by his patronage, and be so obedient to thy command, that the snares of all enemies being removed, we may enjoy perpetual peace."

Clement died March 19th, 1721, at the age of seventy one. The election of Michael Angelo Conti, who took the name of Innocent XIII., as his successor, was very unexpected. His noble descent, and his personal accomplishments, had raised him to the highest offices, the duties of which he had always discharged with reputation and honour. But the infirmities of age prevented him from distinguishing himself as Pope. Innocent died the 3rd of March, 1724. Cardinal Vincent Orsini, eldest son of the Duke of Gravina, who, on the 29th of May following, succeeded to the Pontificate as Benedict XIII., took every opportunity of recommending a strict regard to moral and social duties, and a steady practice of Christian virtues. His dislike of pomp and magnificence, his concern for the morals of the Clergy, and his care for the poor, however commendable, did not obtain for him or his plans the support of the Cardinals and the other great men of his court. He held a provincial council in the Lateran Church, chiefly for a reform of the conduct of the clergy; and the assembly

voted for an enforcement of some decrees that had been enacted by the Council of Trent, but which had fallen into disuse. On another occasion, he rose above the bigotry of his predecessors, by expressing a wish for the diffusion of scriptural knowledge: and, with that view, he permitted the people in general to peruse the sacred volume, and encouraged the multiplication of copies in the modern languages. This permission displeased the rigid Romanist; but it was approved by many of the members of that Church. A grand scheme of religious comprehension was formed by this respectable ruler of the Romish Church. It was of no less magnitude than the union of the four communities that divided Christendom. He proposed, that four Councils should be holden at different places at the same time, each consisting of a certain number of representatives of the Romish, Greek, Lutheran, and Calvinist Churches, with a president of one or other Church in each assembly. He did not, however, carry his scheme into execution. Benedict was indefatigable in his official duties; he continued to pray and preach, attend to all Pontifical and sacerdotal functions, and direct the conduct of subordinate Prelates and ministers of the Church. He frequently visited the poor, and relieved them by his bounty; selling, for that purpose, the presents which he received. He habituated himself to the plainest fare, and lived in the most frugal manner, like a hermit in his cell, that he might more liberally bestow upon others the blessings of fortune. He died February 21st, 1730, in the eighty-second year of his age, and the sixth of his Pontificate.\*

\* Yet so overpowering are the principles of Popery, and the influence which they exert over the minds of the naturally moderate and well disposed, that from the evidence communicated before a Committee of the Irish Parliament, by Father John Hennesy, it appears that his Holiness, Pope Benedict XIII., in compliance with the request of the Romish Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, (who had conspired with others of the Romish communion, to exterminate King George II. and the royal family, and to place the Pretender on the throne,) issued his Bull to facilitate their *pious* intention, and sent them an indulgence for ten years, in order to raise a sum of money, to be speedily applied to restore James III. to his right. This Bull further enjoined "that every communicant, confessing and receiving upon the patron days of every respective parish, and any Sunday from the 1st of May to September, having repeated



Clement XII. of the Corsini family, was chosen in 1730, after a long contest, occasioned by the intrigues and clashings among the Roman Catholic Courts, and the Cardinals in their interest, to succeed the mild and humble Benedict. He quickly reformed some abuses which had crept into the administration of the Roman States, and then directed his attention to foreign affairs. This Pontiff was a man of respectable abilities: had a regard for justice; was cautious and prudent, yet not destitute of spirit: economical, without being meanly parsimonious; easy of access, without rendering himself indecorously familiar. He had a taste for the polite arts, was an encourager of literary merit, and made considerable additions to the Vatican Library. Dying in February, 1740, in the eighty-eighth year of his age, he was succeeded in August following, by Prosper Laurence Lambertini, Archbishop of Bologna, who entered upon his high office, under the designation of Benedict XIV. He conferred on the King of Portugal, the title of *Most Faithful King*. In the administration of the Church, Benedict XIV. was mild and conciliatory, rather than rigid or severe. He was aware of the relaxed morality of the Clergy in the Catholic States: but, however he might wish to check their licentiousness, he did not take any strong or violent measures for that purpose. He was censured by many of the Romanists, for attempting to diminish the number of festivals, and to abolish some ceremonies which appeared to him to be useless, improper, or absurd. At the solicitation of those Princes, who were displeased at the intrigues, and offended at the mal-practices, of the Jesuits, Benedict promised to exert his authority for the reform of that Order; and the Bull which he issued for this purpose, was one of the last acts of his life. He died in 1758, when he had attained the age of eighty-three

the Lord's Prayer five times, and once the Apostles Creed, upon paying *two pence* each time, was to have a *plenary indulgence for HIS SINS*." Under this holy Bull, it appears that the sum of *fifteen hundred pounds* sterling was ready to be remitted to the Pretender's agent in Flanders, at the time the treasonable conspiracy was detected by the Irish Government. (See the extract from the Report to the Irish House of Commons, in the "*Letters by Sidney*," pp. 93, 94, Cork and London, 1823, 8vo.

years. He was an erudite theologian, as his numerous works evince: a liberal patron of learning, and of the elegant arts; a lively companion; a benevolent and friendly man.

Cardinal Rezzonico, Bishop of Padua, who succeeded him as Clement XIII., had a greater reputation for piety, and was more zealous for the high claims of the Church: but he was not so generally esteemed as his amiable predecessor. During his Pontificate, the Jesuits became peculiarly obnoxious in several states.

The enemies of the Jesuits, had in vain solicited the dissolution of that Order, while Clement XIII. filled the Papal Chair: but they conceived strong hopes of success, when a Prelate, of a more philosophical character, was chosen Pontiff. This was a Franciscan Monk, named Francis Laurence Ganganelli, who obtained the purple in the year 1769, and thought proper to assume the name of his immediate predecessor. The Jesuits affected to believe, and, probably, many of them really thought, that Clement would not dare to suppress their Order. But, in the fifth year of his Pontificate, he resolved, in defiance of all the clamours and menaces of the zealots, to disembody the fraternity, and amalgamate its members with the unprivileged mass of society. He declared it to be his opinion, that the Order had ceased to answer the ends of its institution, and that the members, by the impropriety of their conduct, their casuistry, and their mischievous arts, had forfeited all claim to farther encouragement. A Bull for the annihilation of the Society was therefore promulgated; its Colleges were seized, and its revenues confiscated. Lorenzo Ricci, the refractory general of the order, was sent to the castle of St. Angelo, and died in confinement. Pleased at the ruin of the Jesuits, the French Court complimented Ganganelli on the justice and expediency of his edict, and restored the Venaissin to the Holy See. In 1775, Clement published a Bull of Indulgence, of which the following extract proves, that this spiritual traffic is yet officially and publicly recognized by the Church of Rome; "Jesus Christ, the Author of Salvation, not satisfied with procuring for man, by his death and passion, deliverance from the old slavery of sin, and a return to life, has

added to these favours, one infinitely precious, destined for those, who drawn aside by human frailty, have forfeited their right to the Divine Inheritance. By the power to remit sins, which he gave to the Prince of the Apostles, he has procured to sinners, a means of expiating their transgressions, of recovering their first innocence, and of receiving the fruits of redemption. As it is the only means they possess, who have deviated from the law of the Lord, to re-enter into friendship with God, and attain eternal salvation, the successors of St. Peter, who are heirs of his power, have never had any thing more at heart, than to summon all sinners to the divine source of mercy, to offer pardon to true penitents, and to invite even those who are in the chains of sin, to hopes of remission; and they have judged proper to choose and fix upon, in the course of ages, certain remarkable periods, for engaging sinners to soften the Divine wrath and to embrace penitence, as the only plank which remains after shipwreck; and that by the hope of a more ample harvest of graces and pardons, and by public liberty to share the Indulgences, of which they are the depositors, and that no generation might be deprived of the precious advantages attached to these times of relaxation, they have fixed the return of every twenty-five years as the year of jubilee—the year of grace and remission, which they have ordered to be opened in that city, which is looked upon as the seat and centre of religion.

“ One of these privileged years being at hand, we announce it to all you, our children, and we expect you to labour for the good of your souls, and to profit by such means of sanctification as may be most effectual. We offer you a share of all the riches of Divine mercy which have been entrusted to us, and chiefly those which have their origin in the blood of Christ. We will then open to you all the gates of the rich reservoir of atonement derived from the merits of the Mother of God, the holy Apostles, the blood of the Martyrs, and the good works of all the Saints.

“ We invite you then to drink of this overflowing stream of Indulgence, to enrich yourselves in the inexhaustible treasures of the Church, according to the custom of our ancestors. Do

not then let slip the present occasion, this favourable time, these salutary days, employing them to appease the justice of God, and obtain your pardon."

Clement did not long enjoy his tranquillity, for he died in the autumn of the following year, at the age of sixty-eight. It was supposed that he had been poisoned: but this suspicion has not been verified. Of all the Popes, who for some centuries had filled the Papal throne, Ganganelli seems to have been one of the most unprejudiced, candid, and liberal. He had neither the bigotry of a Monk, nor the pride of a Cardinal: neither the ferocity of an Inquisitor, nor the rapacity of an indigent adventurer suddenly exalted to power and sovereignty.

In opposition to the spirit and doctrine of the Roman Church, this amiable and virtuous Pontiff has declared, that "the Gospels contain the Religion of Christ, and are so plain that the meanest capacity can comprehend them." Lett. v. i. 40.

The government of the Church, after the death of Clement XIV. in 1775, was consigned to John Angelo Braschi, who had been created Cardinal by Ganganelli, and was regarded as a moderate man, rather than a bigot or zealot. He commenced his administration as Pius VI. with acts of benevolence and charity, with the selection of deserving men for various offices, and the removal or discouragement of some individuals who had misbehaved. He also issued a Bull, dated April, 1778, in which he declared, "that the faithful should be excited to the reading of the Holy Scriptures, for these are the most abundant sources, *which ought to be left open to every one*, to draw from them purity of morals and of doctrine." He also formed the resolution of undertaking a work calculated for national benefit, the draining of the Pontine marshes; and if he did not completely succeed, yet he is entitled to no less praise for the grandeur and utility of the attempt. He employed the best engineers in Rome, and went regularly every year to inspect, in person, the progress which they had made. He caused immense canals to be dug, for the purpose of receiving the water from the marshes, and by this means rendered considerable tracts of land fit for husbandry. On the side of these canals he constructed a large

and beautiful road, about forty miles in length, ornamented with four rows of poplar trees, and interspersed with houses of accommodation; and at its termination he built a large and splendid palace.

Freedom of thought, in the affairs of religion, began now to diffuse itself among the higher and middle classes, throughout the Papal States. The vigilance of the government, however, prevented it from being dangerous. In the extensive territories of the House of Austria, a similar freedom was repressed by the spirit of Maria Theresa. At this time the Emperor Joseph of Austria, who was himself a Freethinker, while he professed an adherence to the doctrines of the Romish Church, manifested a strong inclination to abridge the Papal power in his dominions; and with him, an inclination was soon converted into an act. Pius, being acquainted with the freedom of Joseph's sentiments, apprehended an attack from that enterprising innovator; and his fears were not visionary; for the emperor, in 1781, began with imposing restrictions upon the operations of Bulls and Rescripts sent from Rome. He farther displeased the Pontiff, by ordering that no money should be sent into foreign countries for masses; that no dignity should be solicited at Rome without his permission; that pilgrimages should be discontinued; and that the number of images and ornaments in Churches should be diminished. The disgust felt by Pius at this conduct, was not allayed by the liberal edict of Joseph, granting full toleration to all the Protestants in his dominions, as well as to all members of the Greek Church; and the dissolution of a great number of monasteries, with the conversion of the buildings into Colleges, Hospitals, or Barracks, increased the indignation of the Pope. The thunders of the Vatican were no longer objects of terror, and of this Pius VI. was fully aware; he, therefore, resolved to try whether his personal entreaties might not have the effect of prevailing with the Emperor to desist from his hostile purposes. He accordingly determined to visit that Prince at Vienna. This determination was highly disapproved by the members of the Sacred College. Pius was, however, resolute, saying, that he had rather submit to humiliation in his dignity than

remorse in his conscience. Joseph in one of his interviews with his spiritual father, claimed the right of altering the ecclesiastical government in his own territories, while he suffered the Catholic doctrines to remain unimpaired. The Pontiff, finding expostulation useless, returned to Rome, and suffered the storm to rage. The continuance of Joseph's reformatory measures no longer surprised the Pope, who had now witnessed the inflexibility of that Prince's character. The See of Rome lost the presentation to Bishoprics in Lombardy and other Austrian dependencies: its Nuncios were deprived of their power and jurisdiction in Germany; and by these and other attacks, the lustre of the Papacy was visibly eclipsed.

Unfortunately for the cause of the Papacy, there seemed to be a general disposition, during the Pontificate of Pius, to diminish the authority of the See, over which he presided. The Court of Madrid assumed a greater degree of religious freedom than it had been accustomed to exercise; claimed rights nearly equal to those which the Gallican Church had long maintained; reduced the Inquisition to a state of passive subserviency: and made a farther diminution of the Papal demands of revenue. Even the bigoted Court of Lisbon entertained ideas of reform. The Queen was a devout Catholic, superstitiously faithful to the doctrines, and attached to the ceremonies of Popery: but she suffered her son, the Prince of Brazil, to lead her into anti-Papal measures.

The Courts of Naples and Florence took greater liberties in this respect, than that of Lisbon. A considerable number of monasteries were suppressed by the King and the Grand Duke; Bishoprics and rich benefices were granted, without consulting his Holiness with regard to the individuals proper to occupy them; and contributions to the Roman treasury, were abolished or restricted. The Republic of Venice dissolved some conventual foundations, and applied their revenues to better purposes, than the support of superstitious indolence. The Duke of Modena put an end to the horrors of the Inquisition in his dominions, and treated with less respect the general authority of the Pontiff. These incidents and transactions tend to shew the very reduced state of the Papacy, at

the period in question ; indeed, we must not omit observing here, that the modern Bishops of Rome make but an indifferent figure in Europe, and exhibit little more than an empty shadow of the authority of the ancient Pontiffs. Their prerogatives are diminished, and their power is restrained within very narrow bounds. The Sovereign Princes and States of Europe who embrace their communion, no longer tremble at the thunder of the Vatican, but treat their anathemas with indifference and contempt. They, indeed, load the Holy Father with pompous titles, and treat him with all the external marks of veneration and respect : yet they have given a mortal blow to his authority, by the prudent and artful distinction they make between the Court of Rome, and the Roman Pontiff. For, under the cover of this distinction, they buffet him with one hand, and stroke him with the other, and under the most respectful profession of attachment to his person, oppose the measures, and diminish still more, from day to day, the authority of his Court. In 1796, when Buonaparte was every where victorious, Pius committed an act of aggression, by suffering the Neapolitan cavalry, who were hastening to the succour of the enemies of France, to pass through the territories of the Church, and even directed their march. No sooner had the conqueror dispersed the Austrian armies in Italy, than he proceeded against those Italian States which had either joined or favoured them. Having, with his main army, entered the territory of the Pope, and without resistance taken possession of Bologna, Ferrara, and Urbino, the Pontiff was under the necessity of throwing himself on the clemency of the conqueror, who would not even grant him an armistice, but on very severe conditions. By the terms of it, the Pope was compelled to renounce the friendship of the coalesced powers, and to shut up his ports against them ; to surrender to the French, the cities of which they already had possession, as well as the citadel of Ancona, to pay nearly a million sterling, and to deliver one hundred pictures, busts, vases, statues, &c. and five hundred manuscripts, to be selected by commissioners, who should be sent to Rome for that purpose.

Europe beheld with astonishment and regret, this Pontiff, a

venerable old man, degraded, insulted, expelled from his capital, harassed with removals from place to place, treated with every kind of indignity and brutality; evils sufficient to exhaust the feeble remains of a long life, in which, during his Pontificate, he is said to have deserved, by his good government and public spirit, the respect and affection of his subjects. He was more the object of respect and veneration, in his condition of a dethroned exile, than when holding the semblance of authority by the permission of France. Pius died at Briançon, in April 1799, in the eighty-second year of his age; and on the elevation of Napoleon to the Consulate, his remains were not neglected, but received, singular to relate, the rites of sepulture with the solemnity due to his high office, by the command of the Consul, who had first shaken the Papal authority.

After the Church had subsisted for some time without a head, the fugitive members of the Sacred College held a Conclave at Venice, by desire of the Emperor of Germany; and the Cardinal di Chiaramonte, being honoured with their suffrages, began to act as Pontiff, under the title of Pius VII.

Immediately on his election, Pius announced his succession to the Pontificate, to Louis XVIII. as the lawful King of France, though then in exile: yet in the following year he exhibited a most edifying example of *Papal Duplicity*, when it suited his interest, by entering into a Concordat with Buonaparte.

Rome being soon after recovered by the arms of the allies, Pius was soon enabled to unite temporal power, with spiritual authority. With him, therefore, Buonaparte condescended to treat; when this fortunate warrior, having acquired the dignity of first Consul or Sovereign of France, wished to shew himself a friend to religion. It was stipulated between them, that the Catholic, Apostolic, and Romish Religion, should be freely and publicly exercised in France; that a new division of dioceses should take place;\* that, as soon as the first Consul

\* One hundred and forty-six Episcopal and Metropolitan Sees were suppressed, the Bishops and Metropolitans being dismissed without any form of judicature. All Frenchmen were absolved from their oath of allegiance to their



should have nominated Bishops, the Pope should confer upon them the canonical institution; that the Prelates should appoint, for parochial ministers, such persons as the Consuls should approve; that no council or synod should meet without the consent of the government; that no Papal Legate or Nuncio should act, and no Bull or Brief be operative, without the same consent. Ten Archbishops, and fifty Bishops, were assigned to the whole republic; and it was required that they should be natives of France, aged at least thirty years. The subserviency of ecclesiastics of all descriptions to the civil power, in doctrine as well as in discipline, formed a leading feature in this arrangement. The Pope was pleased at the preference so solemnly given to Catholicism, although he was aware that his influence over the Gallican Church would be very considerable.

Such was the celebrated compact by which Pius VII. surrendered to a soldier, whose name was, five or six years before, unheard of in Europe, those high claims to supremacy in spiritual affairs, which his predecessors had maintained for so many ages against all the Potentates of Europe.

The secularization of certain German Churches and Chapters in 1803, by the Diet of Augsburg, which distributed some of them as indemnities to secular Protestant Princes, gave occasion to many despatches from Rome in the years 1803, 1804, and 1805, and particularly to an instruction to the Papal Nuncio resident at Vienna, in 1805; in which Pius VII. says, that the Church had not only taken care to prohibit heretics from confiscating ecclesiastical possessions; but that she had moreover established, as the penalty of the crime of heresy, the confiscation and loss of all property possessed by heretics. This penalty, as far as concerns the property of private individuals, is decreed, he says, by a Bull of Innocent III. cap. Vergentes X. de Hæreticis; and, as far as concerns sovereignties and fiefs, it is a rule of the canon law, cap. Absolutus XVI.

legitimate sovereign, and authorized to take an oath of allegiance to the first Consul; and when Louis XVIII. sent his Ambassador to Rome to present his credentials, the Pontiff refused to receive him.

de Hæreticis, that the *subjects of a Prince, manifestly heretical, are released from all obligation to him, dispensed from all allegiance and all homage.* "To be sure," his Holiness goes on to say, "we are fallen into such calamitous times, that it is not possible for the spouse of Jesus Christ to practice, nor even expedient for her to recal, her *holy maxims of just rigour against the enemies of the faith.* But, although she *cannot exercise her RIGHT of deposing heretics from their principalities, and declaring them deprived of their property,* yet can she for one moment allow that they should rob her of her property, to aggrandize and enrich themselves? What an object of derision would she become to heretics and infidels, who, in mocking her grief, would say, that they had found out a way of making her tolerant!" (*Essai Historique sur la Puissance Temporale des Papes*, tom. ii. p. 320.)

Early in the season of 1809, while Buonaparte was at Vienna, he caused proclamations to be made in the public squares and market place of that city, that from the 1st of June the Papal territory should be united with the French Empire; and that Rome should, at the same time, be declared a free and Imperial city. This decree, which fixed the annual revenue of the Pope at two millions of francs, was grounded on three propositions: first, that the territories of Rome were fiefs bestowed by the Emperor Charlemagne, the predecessor of the Emperor Napoleon, on the Bishops of Rome, to maintain the peace of his subjects; second, that ever since that time the union of temporal and spiritual power has been, and still is, the source of dissension; and third, that the temporal pretensions of the Pope are irreconcilable with the security of the French army, the repose and prosperity of the nations subject to the sway of Napoleon, and the dignity and inviolability of his Empire. The Pope protested against this violence, excommunicating Buonaparte and all who had adhered to him in his invasion of the Papal States, but all without effect; though he continued to exercise the functions of his office without further interruption, but with little opportunity for energetic exertion, till the subversion of the Napoleon dynasty, when he resumed the full possession of his authority with a

firm resolution to exercise his prerogatives to their utmost extent. In his proclamation, issued at Cezena, on the 5th of May, previously to his return to Rome, his Holiness applied to himself the ancient title of "God's Vicar on earth," and spoke of his temporal sovereignty as essentially connected with his spiritual supremacy.

The following Extract from Scott's *Life of Bonaparte*, referring to this period, will be found interesting. "The Emperor was highly incensed at the pertinacity and courage of the Pontiff, and determined on punishing him. In the night betwixt the 5th and 6th of July, the Quirinal Palace, in which his holiness resided, was forcibly entered by soldiers, and General Rodet, presenting himself before the Holy Father, demanded that he should instantly execute a renunciation of the temporal estates belonging to the See of Rome.

"I ought not—I will not—I cannot make such a cession," said Pius VII. "I have sworn to God to preserve inviolate the possessions of the Holy Church—I will not violate my oath." The General then informed the Pope he must prepare to quit Rome. "This, then, is the gratitude of your Emperor," exclaimed the aged Pontiff, "for my great condescension towards the Gallican Church, and towards himself? Perhaps in that particular my conduct has been blame worthy in the eyes of God, and he is now desirous to punish me. I humbly stoop to his divine pleasure."

At three o'clock in the morning the Pope was placed in a carriage, which one Cardinal alone was permitted to share with him, and thus forcibly carried from his capital. As they arrived at the gate Del Popolo, the General observed it was yet time for his Holiness to acquiesce in the transferring of his secular estates. The Pontiff returned a strong negative, and the carriage proceeded.

At Florence, Pius was separated from Cardinal Pacca, the only person of his court who had been hitherto permitted to attend him; and the attendance of General Rodet was replaced by that of an officer of gens-d'armes. After a toilsome journey, partly performed in a litter, and sometimes by torch-light, the

aged Pontiff was embarked for Alexandria, and transferred from thence to Mondovi, and then across the Alps to Grenoble.

But the strange sight of the head of the Catholic Church travelling under a guard of gens-d'armes, with the secrecy and the vigilance used in transporting a state criminal, began to interest the people in the South of France. Crowds assembled to beseech the Holy Father's benediction, perhaps with more sincerity than when, as the guest of Bonaparte, he was received with all the splendour the Imperial orders could command.

At the end of ten days, Grenoble no longer seemed a fitting place for his Holiness's residence, probably because he excited too much interest, and he was again transported to the Italian side of the Alps, and quartered at Savona. Here, it was said, he was treated with considerable harshness, and for a time, at least, confined to his apartment. The Prefect of Savoy, Mons. de Chabrol, presented his Holiness with a letter from Napoleon, upbraiding him in strong terms for his wilful obstinacy, and threatening to convoke at Paris a Council of Bishops, with a view to his deposition. "I will lay his threats," said Pius, with a meekness which sustained him through his sufferings, "at the foot of his crucifix, and I leave with God the care of avenging my cause, since it has become his own." Here the Pontiff was confined till June, 1812. In the mean time, a deputation of the French Bishops was sent with a Decree by Napoleon, determining that, if his Holiness should refuse canonical institution to the French Clergy, as he had done ever since the seizure of Rome, and the patrimony of St. Peter's, a Council of Prelates should be held for the purpose of pronouncing his deposition.

On the 4th of September, 1811, the Holy Father admitted the deputation, listened to their arguments with patience, then knelt down before them, and repeated the Psalm, *Judica me, Domine*. When the Prelates attempted to vindicate themselves, Pius VII., in an animated tone, threatened to fulminate an excommunication against any one who should attempt to justify his conduct. Then, instantly recovering his natural

benignity of disposition, he offered his hand to the offending Bishops, who kissed it with reverence. The French Prelates took leave, sorrowfully, and in tears. Several of them showed themselves afterwards opposed to the views of Napoleon, and sustained imprisonment, in consequence of their adhesion to what appeared to them their duty.

His Holiness, in June, 1812, was transported to Fontainebleau, where he arrived on the 19th. Here he abode till Napoleon's return from Russia. On the 19th of January, 1813, the Emperor suddenly presented himself before his venerable prisoner, with whom he now entered into treaty. It was of great importance to Bonaparte to have the schism healed as soon as possible, since the Pope refused to acknowledge the validity of his second marriage, and, of course, to ratify the legitimacy of his son. Some misunderstanding soon after fell out, and the ecclesiastical feuds recommenced with more acrimony than ever.

In the beginning of 1814, proposals of liberation were tendered to the Pontiff, by the agency of Cardinal Maury, and the Bishops of Erreux and Plaisance; and, on condition of his ceding a part of the territories of the Church, he was to be restored to the remainder. "The dominions of St. Peter are not my property," answered the Pontiff, "they belong to the Church, and I cannot consent to their cession." "To prove the Emperor's good intentions," said the Bishop of Plaisance, "I have orders to announce your Holiness's return to Rome." "It must then be with all my Cardinals," said Pius VII. "Under the present circumstances that is impossible." "Well, then, a carriage to transport me is all I desire—I wish to be at Rome, to acquit myself of my duties as head of the Church."

An escort, termed a guard of honour, was appointed to attend him. Having taken an affecting farewell of the seventeen Cardinals, who had been with him, the Pope left Fontainebleau on the 24th of January, and returned by slow journeys to Savina, where he remained from February the 19th to the 19th of March; and on the 18th of May he arrived at Rome, amid the acclamations of thousands, who thronged to receive his benediction.

During his residence at Fontainebleau, Pius was engaged in the most trifling employments; he never opened a book during the whole day, but would employ himself in repairing little rents in his dress, or washing the front of his cymar, on which he was accustomed to drop a goodly portion of snuff, which he used in great quantities. No small portion of illusion is necessary to create a belief in the infallibility of a sovereign Pontiff, so nearly approaching to human wretchedness. He had here many ways of rationally employing his time, had he been so disposed; there was a magnificent library which he never touched. He would see no one but his Cardinals. On the downfall of Napoleon, in 1814, Pius regained his liberty.

Not long after the restoration of this Pontiff, he evinced the most determined spirit to support the errors and superstitions of the Romish Church, notwithstanding the abject condition to which the Papacy was now sunk in the eyes of Europe. Two Briefs, one dated September, 1819, and the other August 14, 1820, are still extant, addressed to the Popish Prelates of England and Ireland, against Bible Societies and Schools, the latter of which only we shall give here.

“That forewarning speech of Jesus Christ Our Lord,” says his Holiness, “long since uttered by him, when employing the parable of the husbandman, who had sown the good seed in his field, but his enemy, while mankind were asleep, came, and made an after sowing of tares in the midst of the wheat corn, (Matth. xiii. 24.) appears to be realizing in our days, particularly in Ireland, to the grievous loss and wrong of the Catholic weal.

“For information has reached this sacred congregation, that schools of a *Bible Society* have been set up in almost every part of Ireland, upholden with the resources, and by the patronage of the higher Anti-catholic gentry; and that in those Schools, under the artificial complexion of *charity*, the untutored youth of either sex, especially those of the peasantry, and of the indigent class, allured by the cajolement, nay, by affectionate, petty presents from the teachers, come to be tainted with the deadly poison of perverse doctrines.

“It is farther stated, that the teachers in those schools lately

described, are *Methodists*, who make use of Bibles, rendered into English by that Bible Society, and pregnant with errors; those teaching having in view the sole object of seducing the youthful population, and eradicating from their hearts and affections, the truth of the Orthodox Faith.

“Considering these things to be certain, your Lordship is already aware, that great solicitude, application, and vigilance are to be demanded of the shepherds, in sedulously guarding their flocks from the ambuscade of wolves who come in sheep’s clothing. If the shepherds will slumber during the while, quickly will the inimical man steal in and sow his noxious seed; quickly will the after growth of tares show itself, and overlay the wheat corn.

“Wherefore it is indispensably requisite to make every possible effort, in order to recal the youthful sort from the pernicious schools, and to admonish the parents that they are not, by any means, to suffer their offspring to be led into error. However for avoiding the snares of the adversaries, nothing appears more fitting than the setting up of Catholic schools, wherein to educate the poor and the peasantry in a course of moral instruction and reputable learning; perhaps it may be said that a fund cannot be provided. As to this point, you will have naturally gained a lesson from those very seceders from the right faith; for, as we are told, they ask individually from the people at large a penny subscription, by the week, for the support of those mentioned schools, what should hinder Catholics from doing likewise?

“Wherefore we exhort, and by the tender sympathies of Jesus Christ our Lord, we conjure you, my Lord, to guard with diligence your flock, in the best manner which your discretion may suggest, from such persons as insidiously are introducing themselves into the sheep-fold of Christ, with the design of carrying away from him the incautious sheep; and to exert yourself most carefully (recollecting the prophecy of Peter the Apostle, delivered of old, in these words, “and amongst you shall be lying teachers, who shall bring in sects of perdition”) to prevent the corrupting by those men of the Catholic

youth. This object I hope you will easily attain, by instituting within your diocese Catholic schools; and in the well founded hope that in this most important matter your Lordship will exert all your force and resoluteness to prevent the sound wheat from being choaked by the tares, I beg of the Holy Divine Majesty to be your protector and safeguard for very many years.

From the Palace of the Propaganda Fide.

*Rome, 14th August, 1820.*

The Papal See, after enjoying a short tranquillity, was visited with repeated shocks, in the revolutions of Spain, Portugal, and Naples. With respect to these events, particularly the latter, Pius acted a cautious part. Fearing, probably, that the aroused energies of these nations would involve the Papacy in new difficulties, he declared the States of the Church open to the passage of all friendly troops; but denouncing, in the strongest terms, the disorderly and factious, which might well be conjectured, to be the epithets his Holiness thought proper to apply to the Neapolitan revolutionary troops. The constitutional government of Naples, which gave the Pope the greatest cause for uneasiness, was, however, overturned by the power of Austria: and the invasion of Spain by the armies of France, succeeded for a season in re-establishing Romish tyranny and superstition, in the whole of the Peninsula.

The Rescript of Pius addressed to the College of Cardinals, in February, 1808, containing his decision on a proposal from France, for granting the free exercise of religious worship, to those who dissent from the Romish Communion, manifests that the spirit of the Papal See, is, in no respect, more liberally disposed than when a Hildebrand or a Borgia occupied its throne. "It is proposed," says Pius, "that all Religious Persuasions should be free, and their worship publicly exercised; but *we have rejected this article*, as contrary to the Canons, and to the Councils; *to the Catholic religion*, to the peace of human life, and to the welfare of the state, on account of the deplorable consequences which would ensue from it."



On the death of Pius VII. in 1823, Annibal Della Genga, was, on the 28th of September, elected Pope ; one of whose first acts was to issue an Encyclical letter, dated May 3rd, 1824, addressed to all Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops, and Bishops, as follows :

“ You are not ignorant, my venerable brethren,” says his Holiness, “ that a society, commonly called a Bible Society, is audaciously spreading through the earth, and that, in contempt of the traditions of the Holy Fathers, and against the celebrated decree of *the Council of Trent*, it endeavours, with all its power, and by every means to translate, or rather to corrupt the Holy Scriptures into the vulgar tongues of all nations, which gives just reason to fear, that in all other translations, the same thing may happen, which has happened with regard to those already known, namely, that we may there find a bad interpretation, and, instead of the Gospel of Christ, the Gospel of Men, or, what is worse, the Gospel of the Devil.

“ Many of our predecessors have made laws to turn aside this scourge, and in these latter times, Pius VII. of sacred memory, sent two Briefs, the one to Ignatius, Archbishop of Guesne, the other, to Stanislaus, Archbishop of Mohilon. In these Briefs, are found passages, taken as well from the Holy Scriptures, as from tradition, and collated with care and judgment, to show how injurious this subtle invention is to faith and morality.

“ And we, also, venerable brethren, in the discharge of our apostolic duty, exhort you to remove your flocks with care and earnestness from this fatal pasture; reprove, entreat, insist on all occasions, with all doctrine and patience, in order that the faithful, attaching themselves exactly to the rules of our congregation of the *Index*, may be persuaded, that if they let the Holy Scriptures be indiscriminately translated into the vulgar tongues, there will result, in consequence of the rashness of men, more evil than good.

“ This is a truth demonstrated by experience, and which Augustin, more than all other fathers, has made known by

these words : " There have been formed heresies and perverse dogmas, which involve the souls of men in their snares, and drag them down the abyss, only because the Holy Scriptures have not been well understood, and because, having ill understood them, men have supported their false interpretations with rashness and audacity."

" Such, venerable brethren, is the tendency of this society, which, besides, omits nothing for the accomplishment of its impious wishes, for it boasts not only of printing the translations, but of disseminating them by going through the towns ; and even to seduce the simple, sometimes it sells them, and sometimes, with a perfidious liberality, chooses to distribute them gratuitously.

" We exhort you not to let your courage be cast down. You will have for you—and for this we rely with confidence on the Lord—the *power of Secular Princes*, who, as reason and experience show, defend their own cause in defending that of the authority of the Church ; for never will it be possible for men to render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, without rendering unto God the things which are God's. You will also have for you to speak as St. Leon did, the good offices of our ministry towards you all. In your crosses, your doubts, and all your necessities, have recourse to this Apostolic guidance, " for God," as St. Augustin said, " has placed the doctrine of truth in the chair of unity."

In 1825, a Bull was published for the usual Jubilee. Among the inducements held out therein, to persuade persons to go to Rome, was that of beholding the cradle of Christ. Can any man of reflection, it has been truly asked, admit that the Pope himself believes that the cradle of Christ *is* to be seen at Rome ? and if not, what is the Pope ?

From this same Bull it appears, that the Pope still usurps the prerogative of Almighty God, in granting remission of sins. " During this year of Jubilee, we, mercifully in the Lord, grant and impart the most plenary and complete indulgence, remission, and *pardon* of ALL their sins, to all the faithful in Christ, &c. &c. &c. provided that they shall have poured forth pious

prayers to God for the exaltation of the Holy Church, the *extirpation of heresies, &c. &c.*"

Leo expired on the 10th February, 1829, not under the weight of years, for he was only 69, but from debility, produced by dissipation in early life. He was a man of fascinating manners; quick, agreeable, and intelligent. He was a fervent admirer of the fine arts, and passionately fond of fishing and shooting. In most of his missions as Nuncio of Pius VII., especially at Florence, he was the favoured suitor of many of the females of the Courts to which he was accredited; by many of whom, he is said, to have had several children. He was a man of inordinate ambition, which nothing but the chair of St. Peter could satisfy.

On the death of Leo, Pius VIII. was elected to the vacant chair, but the period is too short, since his elevation, to enable us to form any opinion of his personal character, or that of his administration.

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In closing these volumes, the author begs to state, that he has endeavoured to preserve as strict impartiality as the subject would allow. If the details of some events, and the portrait of some individual characters be repulsive to the moral sensibilities of man, the fault is not in the pen which draws the outline. Nor is offence intended to the members of that Church whose history has been detailed. We indeed pity the misled adherents of that Church, which, in order to retain its influence, darkens man's understanding, forbids him the use of his natural liberty of choice, wrests from him the Blessed Volume of Inspiration, and flings him at the feet of Priests, and Images of the Virgin, and the whole Nest of Idolatrous Mediators;

and pitying his delusions, we indulge a feeling of the deepest anxiety, that, laying aside insolent self will, sullen prejudice, or careless negligence, he would study the Religion of Jesus Christ in the Holy Scriptures; and that contrasting the holiness, gentleness, and benevolence of real godliness, as therein described, with the abominations, cruelty, and bitterness of spirit, traced in these pages, as the characteristics of the Religion of Rome, he would, in the exercise of a sound discretion, judge for himself righteous judgment.

FINIS. 2













